Norfolk Island:
Pacific Periphery

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This exegesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Fine Arts at the University of Tasmania, June, 2001.

Form B

University of Tasmania Candidate's Certificate

I certify that the exegesis entitled *Norfolk Island: Pacific Periphery* submitted for the degree of Master of Fine Arts is the result of my own research, except where otherwise acknowledged, and that this exegesis in whole or in part has not been submitted for an award including a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed: 

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Name: Marie-Louise Anderson

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This exegesis is dedicated to my father

Mr JB Piggott 1913-2000

who enthusiastically embraced
post-modern ideas and discussion
with me in his 86th year

Abstract

This exegesis investigates geographical, historical, political and psychological issues relating to island isolation. The principal focus of this work is on the idea of periphery, which is imagined and experienced in the space between the known and the unknown. The exegesis argues that from the periphery it is possible to encounter both contradictory and related psychological desires of belonging and displacement. During Norfolk Island's history some of the residents have felt the pain of exile while others, paradoxically, have sought and often found their own paradise.

The history of settlement on Norfolk Island and the continuing struggle for political independence are important issues discussed in relation to self, identity and community.

By exploring physical and psychological issues relating to the nature of isolation, the exegesis and installation simultaneously investigates the concept of discovery, particularly in relation to the desire for freedom, adventure and change.

Acknowledgments

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A special thankyou to my daughter Tsari Anderson who supplied me with reference material and who supported me in every way.

I also acknowledge Jane Emery for editing and Ronald Szapura at Rostella who offered his gallery for the installation and who gave valuable advice and practical help.

Finally, to my friends and family who have been supportive and understanding throughout the whole process.

Distance Conversion Table

1 inch = 25.4 millimetres

1 foot = .3048 metre

1 mile = 1.609 kilometres

1 nautical mile = 1.852 kilometres

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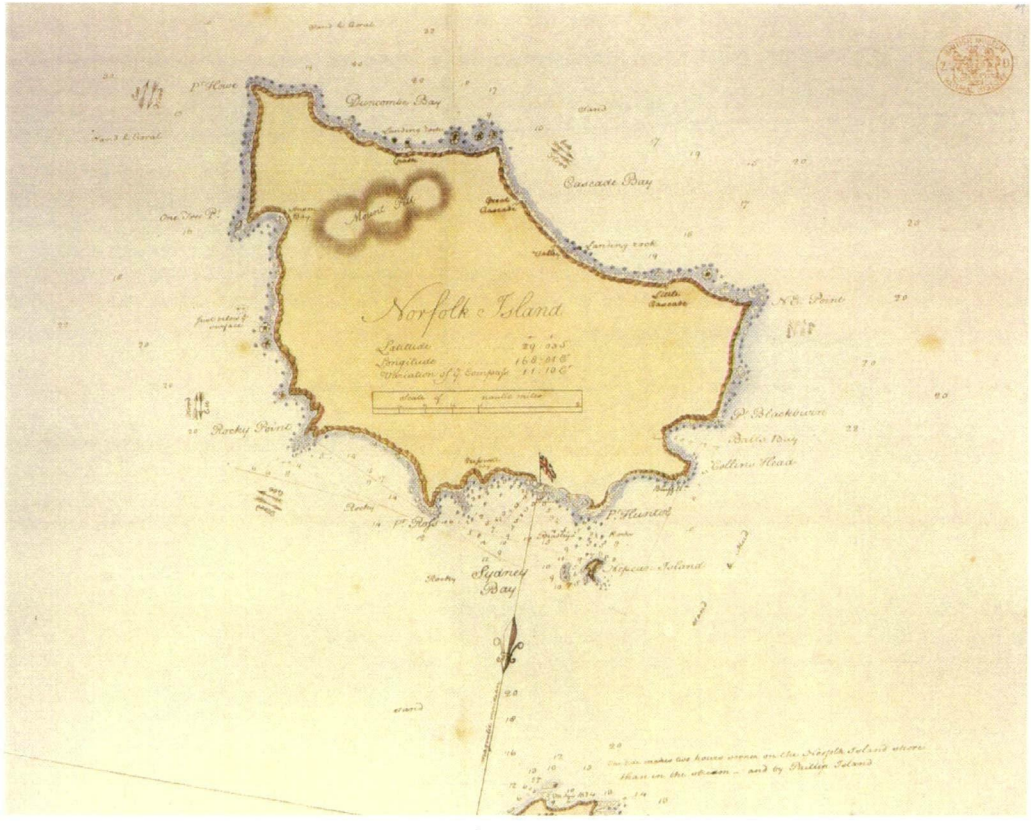

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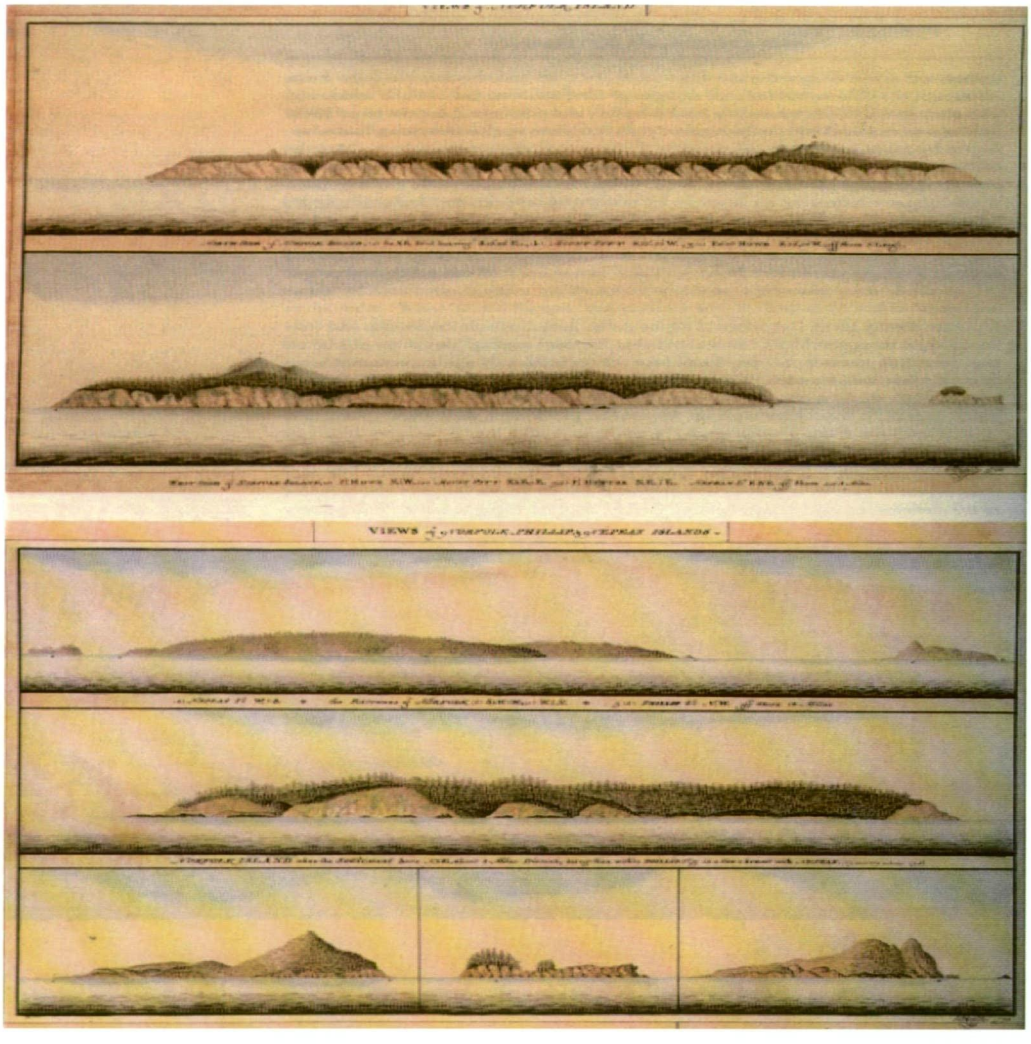

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Introduction

I first saw Norfolk Island through the cockpit window of Flight NC387 as it prepared for landing. Through the clouds and out in the distance Norfolk Island appeared as a small speck of land in the Pacific Ocean.

The fourteenth century cartographers who imagined undiscovered lands described the seas as land-locked. In contrast, I saw Norfolk Island as geographically and historically sea-locked. Norfolk Island is 1610kms from Sydney and 1063kms from New Zealand. Because of the Island's isolated position in the Pacific Ocean, the sea has played a major role in the making of its history and has been the stage for many historic journeys linking it to Australia, New Zealand, its Pacific neighbours and the rest of the world.

The dangerous, unprotected coastline has always made access to Norfolk Island difficult, which could be why Captain James Cook and Lieutenant Philip Gidley King believed the Island to be unoccupied. However, evidence of very early long-term settlement was later found when Polynesian artefacts were discovered around the Island and at campsites excavated in the dunes.

At the time when colonisation of Australia was being planned and discussed, Norfolk Island was considered important for its strategic position in the Pacific and as a source of food for the new colony at Port Jackson. Cook had mentioned in his log that there was an abundance of flax plants and spruce pines thought useful for sail cloth and ships' masts. He also noticed that there was plenty of fresh water.

The littoral edge of Norfolk Island is an arrival and departure point that has witnessed the establishment and closure of two penal settlements and the transfer of a non-indigenous community from Pitcairn Island. Polynesian explorers, British colonists, the clergy, people from the new colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, whalers from America and others have been to the Island. Norfolk Island has been the site of considerable place making and for the last half-century tourists have visited the Island for respite and in search of the exotic.

I travelled to Norfolk Island in July 1999. During the week I contacted and interviewed three women and two men all of whom were descendants of people from Pitcairn Island, except for one who was originally from New Zealand. From each of them I gained a different understanding of life on Norfolk Island, their home. I also talked with many people informally during my stay and, as a consequence, had considerable anecdotal evidence to analyse. In quite specific ways, this would influence my ideas for practical work.

At Norfolk Island I discovered remnants of a matriarchal society where women were once acknowledged as making decisions and holding significant influence. It was primarily the women from Tahiti and their children who survived on Pitcairn Island, who subsequently developed a unique society. Remnants of the influence of these early women has travelled down through the generations and is visible today.

Hierarchical status is still evident, amongst the descendants of the mutineers from the *Bounty*, on Norfolk Island. Other names date back to those who arrived on Pitcairn many years after Fletcher Christian settled there.

It was evident that there still is an immense pride in the Pitcairn heritage and an interest in the penal history of the Island. I was told

that most islanders havé colonial artefacts in their possession. Parts of the historic site at Kingston are being restored and the entire area is well maintained. The natural environment, too, has been through hard times when clearing and chemical use denuded the impressive stands of Norfolk Island pines. Today the entire island is now rigorously protected and regenerated.

The connection to Australia is a controversial topic and almost everyone involves themselves in politics. The local people are divided in their allegiances; some call themselves Pitcairners, some Australians and others Norfolk Islanders.

The landscape and the beach are central to my project. There is a tentativeness and an unpredictability about a small island landscape that can only provide a tenuous livelihood. From a ship or from the air this vulnerability is most obvious, as if by accident a fragment of dry land appears out of an immense ocean. It is the physical isolation of Norfolk Island that I use as a metaphor for personal and psychological isolation.

The periphery of an island holds the interior space and delineates the edge between land and sea. The interior space is known and safe, whereas the outside or ocean is unpredictable and changeable. The circumference or edge of an island also encloses the centre and therefore represents the stranglehold that island culture can impose on inhabitants. On Norfolk Island I sensed the narrowing of experience that can be the result of following traditional expectations.

Alongside the desire of some for the freedom to travel resides the need to return to birthplaces and the familiarity of community, therefore maintaining a sense of belonging and identity. The past has a habit of residing in the present, as Shakespeare explains in *The Tempest*,

'God solderith those possibilities together and makes them kiss.' On Norfolk Island it is possible to link every generation back to its colonial beginnings or to the mutineers who began a new life on Pitcairn Island.

The 'cruel sea' often washes onshore objects worn by time. I think of the beach as a metaphor for the materiality of past and present generations. These displaced objects can be constant reminders of the forces of nature, of events in history and of the making of place:

> There is the embrace of past generations which lived through similar material conditions and endured, and which send their accumulated wisdom onto the future as an indestructible legacy. [1]

Norfolk Island is unable to conceal the ghosts of penal horror and the ghosts of Fletcher Christian's mutiny. Its history borders on the uncanny, the reasons for establishment of each settlement being surrounded by chance and fate.

Utopia was eventually found on Norfolk Island by the re-located descendants of the mutineers who relied on religion for moral guidance. They established a place of visibility and acceptance within the wider world, separate from, as well as being part of, Australia. But for many years Pitcairn descendants felt ashamed of the actions of their forebears who had relied on the hierarchical positions held onboard the ship and their cultural domination of 'native' peoples as their guides for social structure. Attitudes have changed over time with increased migration, growing acceptance of difference and the need to acknowledge ancestral heritage. Pitcairn descendants living on Norfolk Island are now proud of their past.

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[1] Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting*, Reaction Books, UK, 1990, p. 142

My written and practical work addresses the intrinsic character of Norfolk Island and deals with a perception of isolation on the periphery — geographically, politically and socially. I propose that throughout their history Norfolk Island people, by fate, chance and desire, have resided on the periphery. Their location has set them apart from the centre of Australian influence and authority.

In this exegesis the idea of discovery is explored — an individual desire for adventure and need to discover other places and consequently a sense of self. I discuss the paradox of exile and escape, utopia and dystopia, and finally acknowledge the haunting nature of the remnants of history. The passage of time continually challenges the meaning and symbolism of culture and artefacts. Artists freely interpret these changes from their own immediate perspective.

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Photograph, June 1999

Figure 5 Marie-Louise Anderson
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Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia
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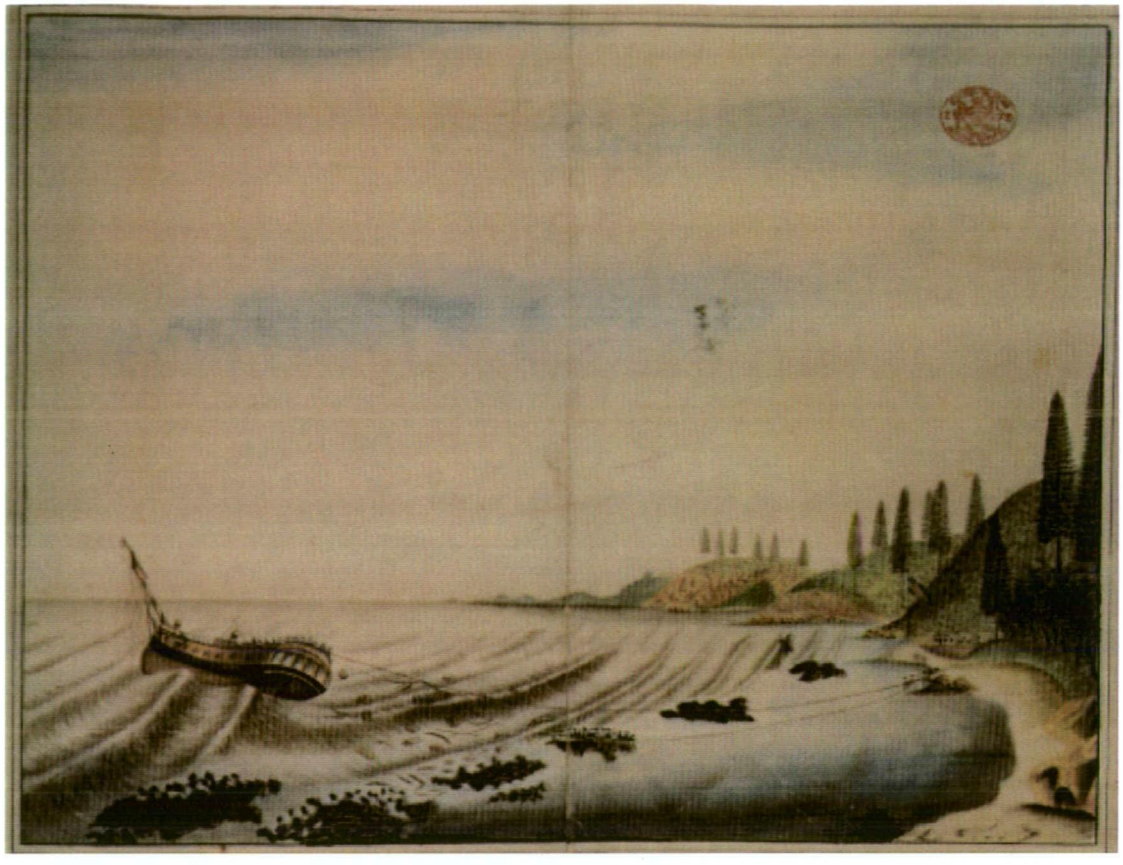

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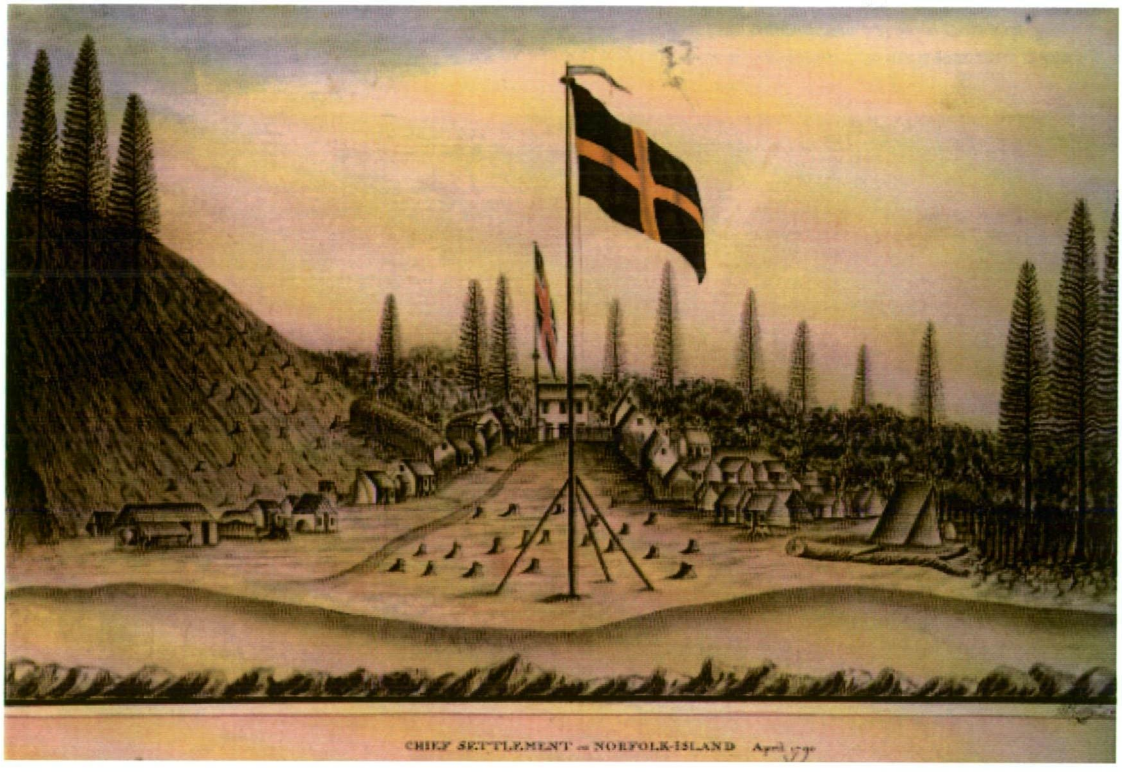

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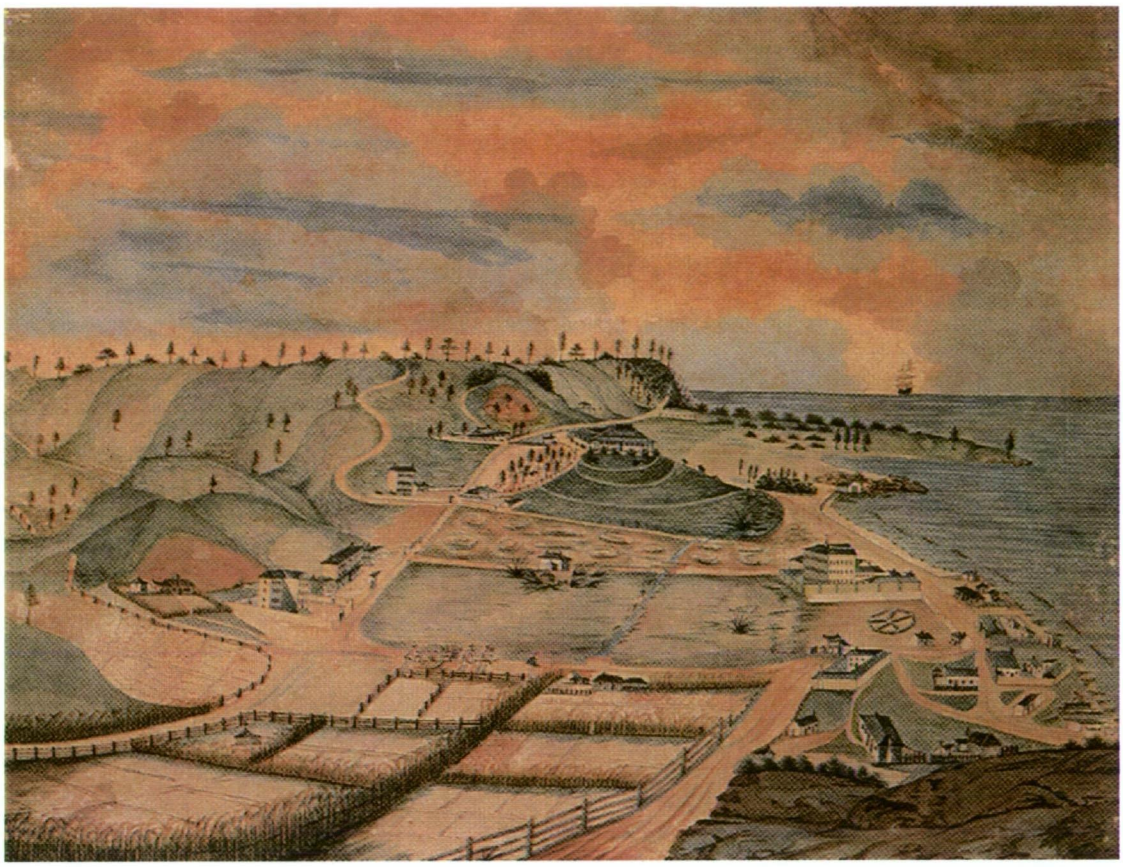

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Chapter 1

Periphery

> *Thus Defoe, by reiterating that nothing but a plain earthenware pot stands in the foreground, persuades us to see remote islands and the solitude's of the human soul.* [1]

Part of my ceramics practice has acknowledged the vessel form as both a functional container and as a symbol of colonisation and ownership. I responded to the quote above, as I could imagine 'a plain earthenware pot' to symbolise the melancholy and loneliness felt when isolated and marooned. I believe that Norfolk Island has been a site where many have felt trapped and isolated. To me, the essence of the meaning of periphery lies in these geographically marginalised places.

Each separate settlement — two Penal Settlements and the re-location of the Pitcairn Islanders — has brought to remote Norfolk Island familiar and common objects. I saw in the local museum Polynesian axes and colonial crockery taken from the sunken wreck of the*Sirius*. These were placed alongside contemporary woven hats made by local residents. Each generation has spent time 'making place' and creating order out of a reality of uncertainty. Paul Carter in his book *The Road to Botany Bay*, describes objects of human settlement as 'fixed and detachable facts'.

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[1] Virginia Wolfe, *20th Century Interpretations of Robinson Crusoe: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Frank H. Ellis, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1969, p. 24

Today the community collect these artefacts as a way of understanding, believing and 'seeing' the past:

> The bricolage of different materials, objects and images becomes a means of opening a space for identifying different histories, local positions and agendas. [2]

We know that archaeologists study objects, or remnants of their form, as a way of understanding past cultures and that some artists collect and re-make objects that refer to past and present societies. Artists, through their work, often draw on history and memory to help them express emotions associated with place. While common artefacts and ambiguous relics may no longer have a particular function, they are, nevertheless, symbols of culture and the continuum of change:

> ... the use of installation, of the ready-made and procedures of assemblage, bricolage and montage have become virtually commonplace artistic forms of practice by which to both represent and dismantle referential signs of identity fixed by colonialist, nationalist and transnational discourses.[3]

My installation of different materials has developed over time into many forms based on the notion of periphery.

A Norfolk Island resident told me about a picture he had seen of Fletcher Christian, sixth descendant of the leader of the mutiny on the *Bounty* who was sitting on the shore at Kingston looking out to sea.

> ... looking at what, I wouldn't have a clue, but it just seemed to capture in my imagination what it was in those early days to be so isolated and to be looking out there and wondering what was over the horizon and whatever they could visualise in their own minds eye what the outside world looked like. I daresay young people on Norfolk Island, and Tasmania for that matter, have done it for eternity — just looking out for what we want over the horizon somewhere. [4]

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[2] Charles Merewether, *Fabricating Mythologies*. The Art of Bricolage, from the catalogue *The Boundary Riders*, The Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1992, p. 21

[3] Merewether, *Fabricating Mythologies* p. 20

[4] Gordon, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 24 June, 1999

The tendency for many people to look out towards the horizon as a form of reflection has encouraged me to explore the lives of those who find themselves in isolation and see themselves as being on the 'periphery'. It is often the vulnerable and the marginalised who suffer from the experience of isolation, but others prefer this position. I believe that from the confining and enclosing nature of the periphery emerges the motivation to explore and even to escape into the unknown. Norfolk Island is enclosed by the Pacific Ocean as well as being on the edge of Australian politics and awareness. Gathering from the picture of young Fletcher Christian, taken on Norfolk Island in 1946, gazing out towards the horizon, I believe many have imagined new adventures and change.

For me, the periphery represents the space between exclusion and inclusion, discrimination and acceptance, the known and the unknown. Often from the periphery there is time to think of, reflect upon, create and imagine individual freedom. From an island or from a ship every movement on the ocean holds attention; like mirages in the desert they contribute anticipation to the imagination. Emmanuel Kant has used metaphors of exploration and discovery to explain his view of human loneliness, uncertainty and projected dreams:

> We have now not merely explored the territory of pure understanding, and carefully surveyed every part of it, but have also measured its extent, and assigned to everything in it its rightful place. This domain is an island, enclosed by nature itself within unalterable limits. It is the land of truth – enchanting name! - surrounded by a wide and stormy ocean, the native home of illusion, where many a fog bank and many a swiftly melting iceberg give the deceptive appearance of farther shores, deluding the adventurous seafarer ever anew with empty hopes, and engaging him

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[All the names of interviewees are fictitious so as to honor confidentiality agreements]

> in enterprises which he can never abandon and yet is unable to carry to completion. [5]

The past, personal and historical, is always drawn upon in order to make sense of the present. Experiences from the past influence the interpretation of the present and ultimately the choices made for the future.

The present exists as a new frontier, at first neutral, then in limbo, then embedded with new meaning.

The future could be seen to float in space, hidden just beyond the horizon, while the imagination creates scenarios and traces new pictures loaded with ideas and emotion. The future can challenge the individual into taking risks. As David Fausett has put it, 'Utopia exists in the unknown places and in the imagination.'[6]

The space between the past and the future, utopia and hell, reality and the imagination is therefore a frontier which is neutral in the sense that it is continually being created. It is a space that is contemplative and can sometimes be peaceful, uncertain, lonely and isolated. For me an island is a metaphor for a neutral place, but sometimes a frontier where change occurs.

All the communities who have lived on Norfolk Island have experienced both freedom and restrictiveness. Island communities seem different and exotic to the rest of the world but may be traditional and conservative at home.

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[5] Emmanuel Kant, cited in Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations*, Blackwell, Cambridge, Oxford, 1994, p. 71

The 'centre' of the Island for Sandra a long-time resident on Norfolk Island, means security away from the force of the storms. She claims that newcomers and visitors keep to the periphery of the Island and of society. Sandra has never felt the need of a boat. In contrast, Robinson Crusoe expressed the opposite view of the centre, preferring to be near the edge in sight of passing ships:

> yet to enclose myself among the hills and woods, in the center of the island, was to anticipate my bondage. [7]

But like so many others who find themselves in a new place, Crusoe searched for a vantage point from where he could view the whole island in order to find his bearings. Fletcher Christian also climbed to the top of the hill and sat in a cave to contemplate and watch for vessels on the sea – not to be rescued but to hide:

> Well, it really came home to you ... if you could stand on the top of Mount Pitt and turn round in a circle all you'll see is the horizon as you look out, you won't see any other land mass.[8]

Like Sandra, I felt I had to walk to the top of Mount Pitt in order to see the whole Island surrounded by the ocean and to take my bearings.

For Sandra it is easier to be on the 'inside' and part of community and familiarity, whereas others place themselves on the 'outside' where it is difficult to survive. As the periphery moves, identity changes or is lost. In

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[6] David Fausett, *Writing The new World: Imaginary Voyages and Utopias of the Great Southern Land*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 1993, p. 9

[7] Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, Everyman's Library, New York, 1906, p. 75

[8] Sandra, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 22 June, 1999

the imagination, though, it is possible to step in any direction and to test the way. [9]

Norfolk Island has developed a special cultural identity founded on a mix of migrating cultures, who by necessity have been closely linked to nature, the oceans and chance. Over time, freedom has been possible for some and imprisonment a reality for others. Many have experienced a personal periphery in that space between the known and the unknown.

A sense of physical isolation is an important factor in the identity of island populations. Because of the Island's inaccessibility, a unique sense of difference from other populations develops naturally. Norfolk Islanders have fostered a pride in their uniqueness which is intrinsically linked to their history. The Norfolk Island community has consistently dreamt of the Island's independence from Australia but being a small Island they rely upon Australian financial and political support. The community values its independent structures outside Australian control, at the same time desiring inclusion and acknowledgment, as well as the benefit of Australian law and politics:

> ...we had the feeling that the Federal Government in Canberra looked on Norfolk Island almost as another Aboriginal reserve. [10]

In other words, Norfolk Islanders feel a lonely isolation, yet paradoxically they are open and linked to a wider history, to Australia, the world and to tourism. The tourist imagines utopia but defies or destroys it by 'being there'. The Norfolk Island government and its people have attempted to control who is able to live on the Island and who may stay only

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[9] From time to time throughout my life, I have experienced the inability to be where I am (that is in the present) and find it necessary to look to both where I have been and where I am travelling (the past and the future).

[10] Gordon, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 24 June, 1999

temporarily. They claim that the Island was given to the Pitcairn Islanders in 1856 by Queen Victoria, and therefore they should have complete ownership and control. However, Sandra told me in an interview that:

> The Queen made an order in council to put us under Van Diemen's Land and then in 1856 when the Pitcairners were coming it was set up differently and she made an order in council to giving the Governor of New South Wales for the time being the title of Governor of Norfolk Island, so that continued.
>
> Now before the Pitcairners came to Norfolk Island there were negotiations going on with the imperial government in which the Pitcairners were wanting to move from Pitcairn because the place was run down, they had droughts and all sorts of things. They asked if they could be moved to Norfolk Island [or some other suitable place].
>
> A Mr Nicholas, The British Consul for the Society of Islands, had written to the Pitcairner people and told them that Norfolk would not be seated to them but that grants of land would be made to the heads of the family. The British Government at that time, or the Queen, were expanding their colonies, they were not giving away colonies. Anyhow it's a debatable thing, that people have in their consciousness and it's been handed down, it's traditional and they feel that the Commonwealth should have no say at all, there is a move towards independence. [11]

Since then some Norfolk Islanders have resented the Australian presence. Ninety-nine acres of land were granted to the Melanesian Mission in 1866 by the Governor of NSW, Sir John Young, which was also strongly resented. They felt that their land was being taken away from them.

Norfolk Islanders often feel forgotten by Australia and have the impression that Australia only includes Norfolk Island when it suits it, therefore mostly leaving them on their own and perhaps in a precarious position. This places the Island on the periphery of Australian politics and control, and further fosters the Islander's sense of individual identity and a reliance on their unique history and way of doing things.

Pitcairn Island was secure in its isolation for 27 years but the utopian imaginings of Fletcher Christian and the *Bounty* mutineers turned quickly into a reality of dystopia. Their secure Island of exile became the site of fear and hatred as the men fought between themselves. Even though the remaining Pitcairn Islanders living on Pitcairn today enjoy their lifestyle and do not experience the inconvenience of tourist visits, the paradox is that they need to travel far away when sick and they rely on the occasional ship for supplies. They experience the many hardships that accompany constant isolation.

Forgotten places often manage to maintain their simplicity and unspoiled landscape to a greater extent than easily accessible and exploitable places. Norfolk Island could be described as a utopia in this sense. It is also possible for utopia to exist in the imagination (the Greek meaning for utopia is 'no-place'). [12]

Today, Norfolk Islanders enjoy the benefits of their small community, feeling secure in, and proud of, personal values. There is very little crime on the Island as a result of social accountability and because there is no-where for criminals to escape. A Norfolk Island resident explained that life in the early days was hard when her husband worked at breaking in horses. Today she enjoys being in her shop where she can speak Norfolk with her friends. Marie hopes to retire on Norfolk Island, settling on her own land. Pat refers to Norfolk Island as a 'sigh that is always calling you back'.[13] Gordon wants:

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[11] Sandra, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 22 June, 1999

[12] While I was growing up in Tasmania families enjoyed a 'shack' culture. Shacks were places where everything was easy, recycled, uncomplicated and above all simple. Holidays spent in these places felt like freedom

[13] Pat, quoted by Gordon, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 24 June, 1999

> ... to be buried down at Kingston within the sound of the sea and with all those other Norfolk Islanders who have lived before. It provides a wonderful feeling of faith once again to be part of a community. [14]

Jan loves the Island and explains that when she goes away she is always called back:

> And my heritage and that is really important to me. I find that we have a fascinating history – whether it's to do with the mutineers or convicts it's important to me. We have very, very close families, I mean everybody on Norfolk does, that's just how we are. So if we're ever in trouble everybody helps out anyway. [15]

The young often leave Norfolk Island to attend school and university in Australia and New Zealand. They dream of travel and wider experience. Many return to their island home, if not to live permanently then to regularly visit their friends and families.

Today, those of Pitcairn descent dream of Pitcairn Island and actively maintain connections there:

> Pitcairn, you know, had always seemed in our minds like a nirvana, some paradise over the horizon. [16]

A group from Norfolk Island and from Tahiti made a trip to Pitcairn in 1984 and immediately felt at home:

> We were talking backwards and forwards as if we had never been apart. [17]

Some seek isolation only from time to time and subsequently seek human contact again. I found that on a small island like Norfolk people seek increasing simplicity and isolation. Many men from the community also

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[14] Gordon, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 24 June, 1999
[15] Jan, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 21 June, 1999
[16] Gordon, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 24 June, 1999
[17] Gordon, interview with the author, Norfolk Island, 24 June, 1999

enjoy solitude on Phillip Island, a small island a short way off the shore from Kingston, the main settlement on Norfolk Island.

Robinson Crusoe found everything he needed off the wreck — everything that is, except the company of another human being, which he longed for. (When others did arrive he was far from virtuous and proceeded to control them.) He fluctuated between feeling sorry for himself and feeling fortunate. The colonial artist, Augustus Earle, in his watercolour *Solitude*[18] (Figure 6), expressed a despondency felt when alone and trapped, marooned and 'unseen', forced into isolation and without the control to change one's circumstances — a stark realisation of a situation of waiting, survival or even death.

Always interlocking the present with the past, Robinson Crusoe also reflected upon conditions on the other side of the island where he might be able to see the mainland and devise a means of escape. Eventually he made himself a canoe and when finally on board and looking back on the island and out of control in the current, he saw his island as the most pleasant place in the world giving anything to be on shore again. When isolated by force, escape becomes an obsession.

Watkin Tench, an officer of the First Fleet, expressed in his journal a despondency as he suffered the boredom of isolation and the lack of stimulation while he thinks of home and happier times. It seems as if he longed for a kind of escape — from the predictable routine of every day:

> In Port Jackson all is quiet and stupid as could be wished. We generally hear the lie of day as soon as the beating of the reveille announces the return of it; find it contradicted by breakfast time; and pursue a second through all its varieties, until night, welcome as to a lover, gives us to

[18] Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle, Travel Artist*, National Library of Australia, 1980, p. 16

> sleep and dream ourselves transported to happier climes.[19]

Like the marooned individual, most convicts' dreams were of escape. But conversely their thoughts of escape were primarily from torture, torment and confinement. They often escaped into solitude into the surrounding bush, desperate to be 'unseen'. It is known that certain convicts on Norfolk Island committed murder in order to be sent to Sydney with either a short reprieve from their misery on the Island or the ultimate escape — death:

> ... they have committed murders to be sent up to Sydney to be hanged. [20]

> I have known crimes committed by convicts in order that they might be sent to Sydney to be tried; and I have known false charges made by convicts for the purpose of their being sent to Sydney to give evidence. [21]

> So that you have known cases in which men have incurred the risk of the punishment of death for the sake of being removed from Norfolk Island?
> I have. [22]

From these accounts it is obvious that the prisoners suffered because of Norfolk Island's isolation way out in the Pacific Ocean and the injustices that occurred because of this invisibility. There was a lack of immediate accountability which meant that anything was better, even death, than being held on the Island, a victim of cruelty and injustice.

Robinson Crusoe often spoke of his island as a prison and of his life on the island as 'this Death of a Life'. [23] The emotions felt by both convicts

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[19] Watkin Tench, *1788*, edited and introduced by Tim Flannery, The Text Publishing Co., Melbourne, 1996, (first published 1789 and 1793), p. 83

[20] From *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on Transportation*, Tasmaniana Library, Hobart, p. 139

[21] From *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on Transportation*, p. 17

[22] Sir Francis Forbes in interview, from *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on Transportation*, p. 251

and shipwrecked sailors emphasises the horror of enforced imprisonment with no escape.

To escape from an island in early colonial penal history usually necessitated building a boat. It was absolutely forbidden to build boats on Norfolk Island for that very reason. It would be too easy for the convicts to plan and make an escape. Boats are symbols of freedom and adventure, certainly for Augustus Earle, Watkin Tench, Robinson Crusoe and Captain Townson, who was desperate to reach Port Jackson and obtain fresh supplies for the starving community on Norfolk Island. The sloop *Norfolk* was built on the Island (from Norfolk Pine) against orders and sailed successfully to Port Jackson in 1798. The boat was confiscated on arrival and Governor Hunter had her rigged properly and handed over to George Bass and Matthew Flinders, who sailed around Van Diemen's Land and subsequently found Bass Strait.

The frightening contradictions of quiet, power and magnificence within the landscape and the ocean often challenges me to think about my own vulnerability and aspirations. In these geographical places, individual perceptions outline the periphery:

> Petrarch fears the landscape as a secular sensuous temptation; Michelet treats it as a momentary revelation of beauty and freedom bracketed by blindness and slavery; Milton presents it as the voyeuristic object for a gaze that wavers between aesthetic delight and malicious intent, melting 'pity' and 'Honor and empire with revenge enlarged'. [24]

The landscape surrounding the remains of the penal settlement at Kingston on Norfolk Island, seems today like an Arcadian landscape. This illusion hides the pain once experienced within the prison walls. It also

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[23] From *20th Century Interpretations of Robinson Crusoe: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. Frank H. Ellis, Prentice-Hall New York, 1969, p. 17

hides the dislocation and loss felt by the Pitcairn Islanders when they first arrived on Norfolk Island. They had to adapt to living in the buildings of an abandoned penal settlement. Their plight is reminiscent of earlier colonial settlers who were forced to leave their homes on Norfolk Island and a sub-tropical climate to be relocated in cold Van Diemen's Land. Today, the area is dotted with restored colonial buildings and ruins as morbid reminders of its deeply troubled past.

Colonial artists seemed to paint the 'stage' on which penal settlements were made but not the 'play' itself. These early colonial artists painted Kingston naively, as if denying the evil once practised there.

A revealing work by George Raper, *Chief Settlement on Norfolk Island, 1790* (Figure 7), depicts the new settlement when it is less than two years old. His painting shows the nature of the early settlement on Norfolk Island, which is arranged in a panopticon-like fashion, with the commandant's house in the prime position, standing out as the focal point of the new settlement. Those in authority are unseen and have a clear view of the activities of those below. The houses face each other in two lines. There is privacy inside but the arrangement also allows the possibility of voyeuristic surveillance. Some houses are fenced off, accommodating more important members of the settlement and maintaining social hierarchy. The settlement is flanked on the left by a hill, which has been cleared. At the front of the commandant's house rises the British flag; at the opposite end, at the head of the settlement, stands a naval flag. Both flags serve to remind the occupants of their roots, their allegiances, and their social and cultural status. Stumps of felled pines, houses and trees stand like sentinels heralding the new colony. The dead

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[24] W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power*, University of Chicago Press, 1994, p. 12

stumps stand in formation, as if moving onward as stark reminders of dominance, power, destruction and death.
Another work, *A View of Queenborough on Norfolk Island'*, painted by J. Eyre, depicts a peaceful scene of rolling hills and settlement, again all facing inwards and surrounded by only a few graceful immature Norfolk pines. The disturbing aspects in the painting are the many stumps of pines that have been removed – to me, these are ominous symbols of the deaths of many prisoners (and others). I also read the stumps as symbols of the decline and loss of different cultures, individuals and landscapes.

W. Lowry, in his engraving *View of Sydney (Kingston) from South Side of Norfolk Island,* reflects a passive ambience. Lowry includes a narrative by introducing a yacht that has been pulled up onto the shore. Two men, who might be convicts, appear to be in conversation. There is no tension – in fact the scene is one of calm and serenity. [25]

An interesting sketch entitled *Showing the Site of the Murder (committed at Norfolk Island on the tenth day of May 1845 together with the nature of the ground in the vicinity)* (Figure 8) looks conversely like an idyllic moment. A central figure is seen wandering along a path surrounded by spindly Norfolk Pines. A landscape that murder has not disturbed. Is murder an expected outcome of penal life?[26]

Murder and pain are not obvious emotions in the engraving *Norfolk Island, From Flagstaff - Hill, The New Home of the Pitcairn Islanders* [27] *(Figure 10).* The penal settlement of Kingston is portrayed as ordered, cleared and still and is simply the screen to look beyond reality and

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[25] K. & K.A. Davies, *Old Norfolk Town*, n.d., p. 4
[26] *Davies*, p. 8
[27] *Davies*, p. 22

towards other shores. From Flagstaff Hill two figures look out over the settlement and the bay, one pointing towards the horizon.

The artists who painted these works struggled with their depictions of the sub-tropical vegetation characteristic of Norfolk Island. Their paintings deny the presence of the suffering convict and isolated soldier alike and in doing so have idealised the landscape. The Island landscape is rarely still and quiet, the winds roar and the waves beat in on the beach, metaphors for the personal and political struggles still experienced. Ironically, it is this naivety that makes these paintings so appealing. They depict Norfolk Island not as a community on 'the edge' but as a safe, idyllic place – images that can be understood back in England. There certainly is a suggestion of early beginnings but definitely an absence of the harsh realities of its history as well.

While describing 19th century colonial paintings in the exhibition *Home and Away: H2O at the Lawrence Wilson Gallery*, Ian McLean reflects on the same denial of reality in the attempt to depict a utopia. His reflections could be applied to the earlier colonial paintings under discussion:

> Yet its rigorous and predictable geometry seems to say little about the unpredictable movement and accidents of travel.[28]

In his watercolour *Norfolk Island, c. 1839* (Figure 11), Thomas Seller shows us a ship on the horizon. Is it coming or going? Does it represent hope or despair? It is rising over the horizon, just visible. The settlement is peaceful enough but noticeably small, neat and organised. In many paintings and photographs I have noticed and reflected upon the lone Norfolk Pine on the point at Kingston (Figure 5). It is a common symbol,

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[28] Ian McLean, 'Home and Away: H20 at the Lawrence Wilson Gallery', *Art Monthly Australia*, no. 28, April 2000, p. 15

representing all generations who have gazed towards the horizon harbouring mixed feelings of hope and despair.

The painting by Thomas Seller most poignantly expresses the realisation of being on the periphery. For me, the artist has represented the uncertainty and vulnerability of isolation. It is possible to imagine the despair felt by Captain Hunter, whose ship *Sirius* was wrecked on the reef, as he waited for another ship to come and relieve him and his crew stranded on the Island.

> Every day, and during every breeze from westward, we now looked out upon the sea; but on this unfrequented ocean we could expect nothing to appear but what might be intended for us. [29]

> ...it is impossible for me to describe our feelings, when we observed the ship before the wind, and making sail from the island. We did all we could to shew ourselves, but they did not think proper to speak to us. [30]

Focused on the horizon, he hoped for an escape from his enforced exile. As he watched a ship appear and then disappear, 'making sail from the island', he must have felt a terrible separation and loneliness.

Most artists bring to their work their own history, culture, personal experience and external expectations. But the paradox remains of the periphery being both a place of exclusion and isolation as well as a place for necessary lonely reflection. Enforced isolation almost certainly leads to an obsession for 'escape'. [For me, journeys of discovery in the external world ultimately lead to an understanding of inner and more personal journeys made]. In Marshall Sahlins's words:

> People act upon circumstances according to their own cultural presuppositions, the socially given categories of persons and things. As Durkheim said, the universe does

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[29] Captain John Hunter, Commander *HMS Sirius, An Historical Journal 1787–1792*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, p. 124

[30] Captain John Hunter, p. 127

> not exist for people except as it is thought. On the other hand, it need not exist in the way they think. [31]

In conclusion, I suggest that physical isolation can emphasise hardship, psychological pain and loneliness. Feelings of loneliness, frustration and despair were certainly felt by the convicts who were beaten and broken until they sank to their lowest psychological state. From here they could only experience hopelessness and helplessness. Many of these men went mad. Their loneliness was surely profound.

Others, who are free to make choices, may search for a solitude that allows for philosophical and creative reflection. It is common to be content with being alone knowing that returning to society is possible. Human perceptions, expectations, values, beliefs and the intensity with which emotions are experienced vary according to culture, background and personality. This could explain why some prisoners remained psychologically sound and others did not.

[31] Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1997, p. 67

Figure 12 Marie-Louise Anderson
Boats on Norfolk Island
Photograph, June 1999

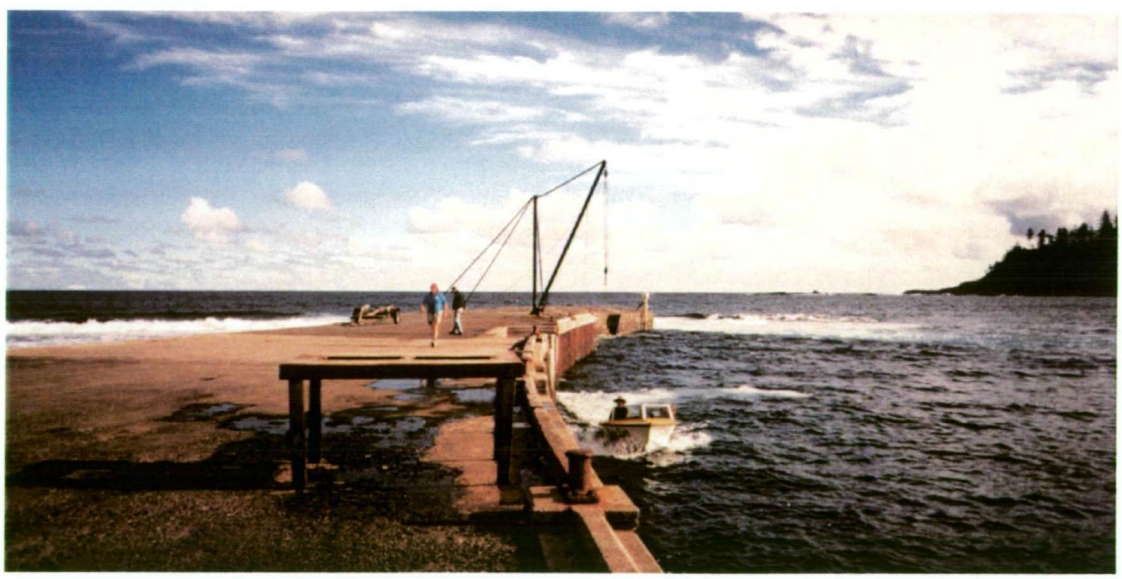

Figure 13 Marie-Louise Anderson
The Jetty and Landing Place at Kingston, Norfolk Island
Photograph, June 1999

Figure 14 Marie-Louise Anderson
Site of the Polynesian Camp Sites on Norfolk Island
Photograph, June 1999

Chapter 2

Discovery of Land and Self

> *I took possission {sic} of this Isle as I had done of all the others we had discovered, and named it Norfolk Isle, in honour of that noble family.* [1]

Captain James Cook took possession of Norfolk Island in 1774 and placed the small land mass on the world map. Even today, though, Norfolk Island remains relatively elusive and unnoticed, a place where some seek quietness and solitude.

In this chapter I will discuss the notion of travel and discovery, often motivated by a desire for adventure and knowledge of unknown lands. Self discovery is certainly an outcome of risk taking and commitment to difficult journeys. Cook faced many hardships as well as experiencing rewards on his three famous voyages.

Many have journeyed to Norfolk Island and have experienced the paradoxes associated with travel. With a personal desire to venture into the world and to make new discoveries also resides a need to return to birthplaces and the comfort of belonging to community. Voyaging leaves the traveller uncomfortable about their identity and

[1] Captain James Cook, cited in Merval Hoare, *The Discovery of Norfolk Island*, Published for the Department of the Capital Territory by the Australian Government Publishing Service, 1974, reprinted 1985,1993, p. 5

vulnerable by separating them from their roots.[2] Being abroad, 'escaping' or 'starting again' can also mean anonymity and uncertainty. From the periphery identity undergoes change while reinforcing the psychological pain of leaving home. Paul Carter suggests that the motivation for many journeys is to avoid adult responsibility and delay going home as long as possible. Some who need to 'escape' have been motivated by the restraints of a suffocating world. As Kenneth Clark states in *Civilization*, 'an enclosed world becomes a prison of the spirit'.[3] Or in Michael Moran's fictitious story *Point Venus*, his main character contemplates that 'There had to be an alternative to the barren imperatives of duty and permitted behaviour.'[4]

Most journeys begin in the imagination. They commence with a vision, followed by planning, energy and anticipation. In voyaging a step is often taken out of one periphery and into another, the adventurer is active and has a destination in sight. Outcomes and the interpretation of events depend on individual history, cultural background and belief systems. I maintain that every experience for the individual is original even if shared with numerous travellers beforehand.[5]

For many, discovery and accumulated knowledge within the natural world can ultimately contribute to a greater understanding of the self. Many have reflected upon the re-invigorating qualities of nature,

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[2] From my personal experience I have found that moving from place to place leaves me vulnerable and on the outside of the adopted community as it takes time to be accepted.
[3] Michael Moran, *Point Venus*, Brandl & Schlesinger, Rose Bay, 1998, p. 12
[4] Kenneth Clark, *Civilisation: A Personal View*, Britih Broadcasting Corporation, London, 1970, p. 293
[5] A yachtsman recalled his experiences on the sea in this way: 'there is so much to see – the seals, porpoises, whales, birds, sun fish, the wave patterns and changing colours. Looking back towards the coastline seems like theatre as the scenery keeps moving along slowly – everything happens so slowly, everything keeps changing. We have great discussions too, and the freedom of being in the middle of nowhere.'

where it is possible to reflect and therefore to change. Focusing on the horizon has been a habit shared by many people, certainly for some living on Norfolk Island. Gazing out as far as the eye can see — into infinity — is a way of reflecting on the past, present and future, within a personal space of the mind. Imagining what lies beyond the horizon signifies the beginning of change. Travelling carries individuals beyond known paradigms and into a new or wider world, that is into the realm of belief and truth. The journey in search of truth and reality is never complete but the more expansive the travel the greater the understanding of both truth and space.

The men accompanying Cook on his second voyage (July 1772–October 1774) wrote in their journals and logs onboard the *Resolution* in September 1774 about their own impressions[6] concerning the discovery of Norfolk Island and the Isle of Pines. They disclosed that from a distance everyone was captured by the illusion of stone pillars rising out of the horizon. The horizon has inherently illusionary qualities, with nothing but the sky and the ocean to define it. Sometimes the eyes see what they want to see while the mind hopes for the possibility of discovering something 'exotic'. In fact what the sailors saw were 100 foot conifers with short branches growing on a small island at the southern-most end of New Caledonia. Cook was to name this the 'Isle of Pines'.

Tim Winton, in his book *Land's Edge*, comments on his experience of the characteristics of Norfolk Pines. From the sea, looking back towards the stand of pines growing near the coast of Western Australia, he takes his bearings:

> The tallest things in these places are the Norfolk Island pines, from whose pencil tips you take your mark at sea or from the desert.[7]

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[6] Personal entries were rare as travel documents, such as journals, were for official purposes

[7] Tim Winton, *Land's Edge*, Macmillan, Melbourne, 1993, p. 46

William Wales, the astronomer on board the *Resolution* 1774, wrote the following in his journal as the ship approached Norfolk Island.

> The Island appears of a Moderate height and extremely beautiful; being every where almost covered with Trees many of which seem Pines & pretty much like those very remarkable ones we saw at the last Island.[8]

Wales was interested enough in the Island to describe its characteristics and mentions how he took a bag on shore with him to fill with samples. I suggest, that he was engrossed in that momentary state of abandon when wrapped up in searching for new and unexpected treasures.

One of Wales' colleagues, Johann Reingold Forster, the ship's naturalist, also mentions the stone pillars:

> In the morning we had several Showers of Rain, & at daybreak we saw at S.W. a small Island, we came up with it at half an hour past 8. It is high, steep, bold & covered with the same Cypress-Trees, which we took in the other Isle for Stone-pillars.[9]

Forster recounts that the excitement on board the *Resolution* mounts as the men prepare to go on shore for the first time: '... We dined early & immediately after dinner we went in the boats ashore'.[10] Johann Forster's son George also writes '... We hastened to finish our dinner, and went on shore with captain Cook in two boats'.[11] He further writes,

> ...On the beach we found several succulent plants of which we gathered a quantity to boil in our soups. The melody of the birds was very pleasing in this little deserted spot, which if it had been of greater size, would have been unexceptionable for an European settlement. [12]

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[8] Merval Hoare, *The Discovery of Norfolk Island*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1974, p. 8

[9] Merval Hoare, cited in *The Discovery of Norfolk Island*, p.10

[10] Hoare, p. 10

[11] Hoare, p. 12

[12] Hoare, p. 13

The crew returned to their boat late in the evening, fully satisfied. They had been busy gathering cabbage plants, shooting birds, catching fish and a dolphin for fresh meat for all on board the ship. Norfolk Island had provided well for them.

Joseph Gilbert, the Master, made several drawings in his log. He traced plans and perspective views of all the places discovered on their voyage. The Island was enjoyed and authoritatively documented.

From these accounts it is possible to imagine the expectation of a new discovery. There must have been a feeling of excitement amongst the crew as they found this small and unspoiled Island for the first time (or first for them). Perhaps the anticipation of experiences such as this were enough incentive for men to sign up for the trials of dangerous and uncomfortable voyages. During the classic periods of adventure and discovery in the south seas (during the 17th and 18th centuries), when tales were told for entertainment and etiquette ruled at sea, many imaginary journeys were written down, based on the rumours of shipwrecks and maroonings, savages and monsters. Nevertheless, ships and their crews did disappear, stimulating the public's imagination. Ideas and imaginings of utopias flourished, alongside mysterious and sinister events in places far from home.

Today, Norfolk Island does seem like a utopia for some. The modern traveller can dream of and hope for new experiences, solitude, imaginary places, unspoiled landscapes, the possibility of adventure and an opportunity to escape from reality. Paradise offers protection from a complicated world.

Other than in historical accounts, Norfolk Island is not usually included in writings on Pacific theory. Is this because it is an external territory of Australia? Maybe so, because the Island is not considered to be politically part of Polynesia. As a result of its isolation, and because of its distance from Australia, Norfolk Island is like an antipodes to Australia. That is, it is of secondary importance, remote and conceived as exotic. The most obvious problem for Norfolk Islanders, who find themselves on the periphery of Australia, is their difficulty in gaining recognition and in maintaining power over their own politics. The Norfolk Island inhabitants, on the whole, want to manage their own affairs and to be independent of Australia. For many of the residents their connection to Australia is inherited but irrelevant, an inheritance steeped in a colonial penal past. They still feel as if they are establishing their own unique visibility within the world. Distance and isolation have been an advantage as well as a disadvantage. Being forgotten has allowed a certain freedom and uniqueness to develop.

Ideas for the Third Settlement on Norfolk Island began on Pitcairn Island, situated in Polynesia not far from Easter Island. The Pitcairners were finally resettled on Norfolk Island in 1856. Philip Carteret, during a voyage across the Pacific in the Swallow in 1767 came across a small island that he named Pitcairn (after the midshipman who discovered it on his watch). The explorer John Hawksworth recorded this information in his journal, entitled *Voyages*. He had also recorded the longitude and latitude in his log. Fletcher Christian found Hawksworth's log in Captain Bligh's cabin. As a result, Christian was able (with some difficulty) to find an uninhabited and small island, quite isolated, for his own exile (Figure 15). Fletcher Christian's sense of alienation from the world must have subsided as he rejoiced in his discovery of Pitcairn Island; however, it would become, for him and his companions, both heaven and hell:

> 'All living things come to an island with only the capital of their minds, their instincts and their genes. In the case of human beings, they can also bring with them a select cargo of natural and cultural artefacts. Nothing is transported whole, however. The webs of significance are always darned.' [13]

(The link between Pitcairn Island and Norfolk Island is explained in more detail in Chapter 4)

So the connections between Britain and Polynesia, through the colonisation of islands in the Pacific, expanded. And with the new settlements at Port Jackson and Van Diemen's Land, Norfolk Island was linked to British penal horror, as well as to the 'romantic' notions of castaways on an isolated island.

Voyages of discovery, for those obsessed by life at sea, meant a lifestyle controlled by strict discipline. For this system to be successful, however, it was necessary for the crew to experience a certain amount of personal freedom and responsibility within the system. Within their confined space they learnt to turn inward and control their emotions. This meant that the ship's company functioned successfully as a whole. The ship also provided the men with protection from the external world. The sailors had had the freedom to choose a life involving adventure and risk. Certainly discipline was important on the oceans to ensure the survival of all those onboard.

Because of a growing discontent and argument with Bligh, Fletcher Christian either lost control for a moment allowing mutiny to develop or, some speculate, he pre-meditated the mutiny on the *Bounty.* Systems of hierarchy, role structures and cultural tradition existed amongst a ship's company. Fletcher Christian must have known his position but he felt melancholic and repressed by Bligh. He may have

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[13] Greg Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1992, p. 308

felt disappointed too for the way things were. Mutiny was a way out for Christian, escape from control, Bligh, and finally, the British Navy itself. For Captain James Bligh, mutiny on the *Bounty* meant the failure of his mission, months at sea in a launch and all the dangers that accompany such exposure. Throughout the ordeal he proved his skills in seamanship as he kept accurate bearings and maintained control from the confinement of the small and unprotected quarters.

Sailors needed not only skill but an adventurous spirit which would carry them freely upon the oceans, with purpose and seemingly limitless time to roam. Their captains, on the other hand, felt the weight of responsibility, not only to Britain and the expectation of returning safely to the motherland with knowledge of new lands and information, but also for the safety and well being of their crews. All sailors, however, longed for the sight of land to orientate themselves and to replenish, to eat fresh food and escape from the confines and boredom of the ship — The words of Watkin Tench express the feelings of excitement and relief as the boats sailed into Botany Bay to establish the new colony:

> Joy sparkled in every countenance and congratulations issued from every mouth. Ithaca itself was scarcely more longed for by Ulysses than Botany Bay by the adventurers who had traversed so many thousand miles to take possession of it.[14]

On the land there was more opportunity to experience freedom. On steady ground the sailors could also benefit from unexpected rewards such as fresh food and the freedom to wander. On the newly discovered shore fear could be temporarily forgotten and replaced by euphoria. From a safe position explorers could reflect upon their past adventures, dangers and risks. These places were isolated but it was a different isolation from that which existed amongst a ship's crew on

[14] Tench, p. 37

their tiny 'floating islands'[15], where religion and the protection and guidance of the captain were their greatest comforts. Isolation can drive the individual crazy, especially if he is victimised. Captain Bligh went too far in criticising Fletcher Christian. On board a small ship it would have been difficult to find the space to be alone. It was no wonder then that sailors tried to escape, and sometimes succeeded.

According to Guy Pocock, in his introduction to the book *Robinson Crusoe*, published in 1906 (p.xi), the story '... is a supreme justification of individuality'. With romantic fascination, Defoe reflected upon his hero and located him on an uninhabited island as a lonely castaway. Robinson Crusoe is self-confident and imagines himself 'king' of the Island. For a long time he is the only person on the Island, his survival dependent upon his resourcefulness. When trapped and isolated, all kinds of discoveries are made, not only in exploring an unknown environment, but also in finding the ability to survive physically and psychologically.

In his book *White Aborigines*, Ian McLean recounts that the original conception of ocean was a site of anxiety, 'however, within its terror was glimpsed the possibility of salvation'.[16] As convicts, and free settlers, travelled to and from the Antipodes they experienced an anxiety associated with the tyranny of ocean distance. But for the mutineers and indeed for the Pitcairn descendants on Norfolk Island, the ocean and horizon represented more than a glimpse of salvation. For the mutineers, the ocean hid and protected them in their place of exile. The ocean plays a big part in this story. Voyagers have faced its dangers and have been rewarded. Pitcairn residents and Norfolk

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[15] 'The first islands that the *Bounty* came upon were Rarotonga and Mangaia in the Cook Islands. To the natives, at least as legend has had it, the ship appeared as a floating island with two rivers of water and a taro plantation.' Dening, p. 309

[16] Ian McLean, *White Aborigines: Identity Politics in Australian Art*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, p. 2

Island residents today both benefit and suffer because of ocean distance.

With the ocean and the imagination predominant as its metaphors, Ian McLean suggests that melancholia is a universal condition. McLean implies that within the imagination and the dreaming of utopias a state of melancholia is inherent:

> The modern melancholic discovers an immortality in the oceans of his or her mind, and often in the ocean itself. An oceanic history became the stage of transcendence. The sea, long the emblem of death, the infinite, the passage to the other, also became in the Renaissance the domain of salvation.[17]

I believe that without a state of imagining there is no hope. Escaping has often been motivated by a state of melancholia but I don't believe that all adventuring has been conceived out of depressed feelings. Sometimes extreme optimism and creativity drives individuals towards and beyond unknown horizons. The ocean in these instances represents salvation and freedom. Necessity, for example, drove islanders of the Pacific region on journeys of exploration in search of uninhabited islands that could sustain them.

But in 1774 Captain James Cook and his crew did not see evidence of Polynesian inhabitants on Norfolk Island. William Wales, an astronomer onboard, commented '... We saw no inhabitants nor the least reason to believe it had ever been trod by human feet before.' [18]

However, in 1778 Phillip Gidley King did find evidence of earlier visitors to Norfolk Island and wrote in his journal on April 27th, 1788:

> I discovered a great quantity of plantane trees, which grow close to the stream of fresh water which runs through the valley...[19]

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[17] McLean, p. 20
[18] Hoare, 1974, p. 9

Plantane trees, or bananas, were not indigenous to Norfolk Island. King found further evidence of prior occupation, including the remains of a canoe, a fresh coconut and a small carved piece of wood, all found on the coast; some stone hatchets turned up while digging. In following years other artefacts such as stone adzes were found and residents still eagerly search for their own samples and evidence. They enjoy being the first to discover something, even if it is only an artefact on the beach.

More recently, in 1996 and 1997, archaeologists discovered Polynesian campsites at Emily Bay on Norfolk Island:

> The settlement we excavated, along with adzes collected from all parts of the island show that this was not a short-term or very small-scale occupation. [20]

The archaeologists found more than 20 small flakes of obsidian, a black volcanic glass that does not occur naturally on Norfolk Island. Analysis has sourced the obsidian to Raoul Island, 1300 kilometers away to the east. A paved area suggests that a ceremonial platform, such as the Marae in Polynesia, was in use.

It remains a mystery as to why the early Norfolk Islanders were not there when Captain Cook arrived in 1774. Carbon dating shows that the campsites were in use around 1200–1600 AD, but dating does not show the length of occupation. Anderson speculates that maybe it was isolation that drove them home, or insufficient products and

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[19] Hoare, *Norfolk Island: An Outline of Its History 1774-1968*, University of Queensland Press, 1969, p. 11

[20] Peter White. Atholl Anderson, *A First for Norfolk*, Nature Australia, Spring 1999, pp. 26–29. Professor Atholl Anderson, Department of Archaeology and Natural History, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University. Dr Peter White, Reader in Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Sydney. Anderson and White are joint principal investigators in a major Australian Research Council-funded project on Pacific colonisation.

resources, as sub-tropical regions do not have abundant food supplies.

It is remarkable that the Polynesians of so long ago discovered this tiny speck of an island far out in the Pacific Ocean. However, it is widely known that Polynesians were skilled at canoe building and navigation — they used the sun, stars, clouds, winds and tides to guide them. As well they were familiar with the migratory patterns of birds. Maoris from New Zealand were known to have visited and temporarily stayed on Norfolk Island.

The first European settlement on Norfolk Island failed to provide ship masts, flax and significant food for the Port Jackson community and the first settlers were forced to leave the Island in 1813, partly because of the hazardous coastline and difficult landing places. The paradox is that the second settlement was established in 1825 because of the difficulty of access. Norfolk Island's remoteness and isolation made it impossible for prisoners to escape. (The Island had been unoccupied for 11 years).

Captain Cook and his men were obviously excited by their discovery of Norfolk Island, George Foster describing that it was 'this little deserted spot'. [21] They were in the mood for discovery — after all, this was their task. La Perouse wrote in his journal 'a place fit for angels and eagles to reside in' [22] and left it that way. Norfolk Island, originally described as a 'paradise', was to become a place of confinement, a horrible place 'worse than death'. This was the paradox — freedom and confinement, utopia and dystopia.

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[21] Hoare, *1974*, p. 13
[22] Hoare, *1969*, p. 4

Chapter 3

Exiles and Thoughts of Escape

'only a place fit for angels and eagles to reside in' [1]

English colonisation in the Pacific pre-empted the exile of convicts to Australia and Norfolk Island. Depressed social conditions in England had led to an increase in crime, resulting in overcrowded prisons. The Crown depended on a policy of transportation where prisoners could be exiled to the colony and exploited as free labour for the building of a new settlement. Some even committed crimes in the hope of being transported and having the opportunity to start a new life. Norfolk Island was used for transporting convicts during two separate settlements; however, it was during the second settlement that the 'incorrigibles' or worst offenders were confined and isolated there. These unfortunate convicts held very little hope of return or escape.

Enforced isolation and exile is quite different from a decision being made to escape to an isolated site, perhaps in the search of solitude and even paradise. It is often marginalised groups — convicts, artists, and the young who imagine escape. Norfolk Island has received many types of visitations: Polynesians on their migratory journeys and settlement, English explorers on their journeys of exploration, convicts imprisoned

and confined, individual adventurers searching for freedom and excitement, Pitcairn Islanders looking for a new home and tourists searching for 'paradise lost'. Some inhabitants on Norfolk Island have experienced 'fear worse than death', but free settlers have enjoyed solitude, community life and stability.

Fear was a reality for the first convict to misbehave at Port Jackson. He was exiled for a week, with only bread and water, to an uninhabited barren island, aptly named Pinchgut. This must have been a terrifying experience. Without first-hand accounts it can only be assumed that he suffered from being marooned and exiled, without shelter, as an ultimate punishment. The Island was completely isolated and inaccessible without a boat. He was separated from his companions and the routine being established at the new settlement. He may have experienced the fear of being left alone with no chance of escape from his isolation, but perhaps most poignantly he faced the fear of the unknown.

John Grant, a gentleman convict detained on Norfolk Island for his criticisms of government and the unjust treatment of convicts, was ultimately exiled to Phillip Island, just off the coast of Norfolk Island. He endured three months alone in appalling conditions. His physical and mental health deteriorated, as he was supplied with insufficient food and water, let alone dignity and companionship. His feelings of separation and melancholia were profound.

> To Captain Piper, Commandant Norfolk — Sir! I request permission either to go to Port Jackson in the Vessell now off Norfolk, or to return to Foley Farm, or at least to receive a supply of Indian Meal and water (my only subsistence) sufficient for any length of time you may decide to keep me here, for the Grindstone is dreadfully gritty and I have not strength to work it, and the meal I rec'd to my share 24th Sept is expended except sufficient for 6 days longer, in which

[1] La Perouse, cited in Hoare, 1969, p. 4

> period I do hope you will send the Boat again with your decision.[2]

For Robinson Crusoe too, fear was a dominant feeling, mainly the fear of being discovered by wild cannibals. He fenced in his cave to make an impenetrable fortification, and did not feel safe until this wall was complete. So when he discovered a single human footprint in the sand he 'stood like one thunder-struck, or as if I had seen an apparition'.[3] This fictitious story has been popular for centuries because it deals with the common experience of fear and the challenges faced in order to overcome it. Crusoe certainly faced fear many times and was well aware of his isolation and loneliness. In Crusoe's words:

> Thus fear of danger is ten thousand times more terrifying than danger itself when apparent to the eyes; and we find the burthen of anxiety greater by much than the evil which we are anxious about ... [4]

The convicts in the new colonies had much to fear and the greatest source of fear was exile to Norfolk Island, known as the place of no return. The cruellest punishment on the Island was being confined to the 'dumb' cells, which could reduce a man to madness. The 'dumb' cells were devoid of light or sound and inmates were totally excluded from all society. These blackened cells were intended to force the prisoner to think about his previous bad behaviour. He was then expected to feel remorseful in his isolation and be willing to reform. The tortured convicts were, however, more inclined to feel rebellious and revengeful towards their captors.

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[2] Yvonne Cramer, *This Beauteous, Wicked Place: Letters and Journals of John Grant, Gentleman Convict*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2000, p. 161

[3] Defoe, p. 113

[4] Defoe, p. 128

In their own way, governors, commandants, soldiers, clergy and others had to face the effects of isolation as well. The loneliness and boredom they felt as a result of isolation was quite different from a prisoner's in the sense that they could maintain dignity and privacy and all the benefits that go with freedom. Nonetheless, they were isolated and separated from the familiarity of home. They no longer benefited from the stimulation experienced in larger centres, nor did they feel secure or have a sense of belonging. The difficulties felt by the soldiers has been recorded as follows:

> When you say the service was very irksome at Norfolk Island, was it from the seclusion of the soldiers from all society, or the nature of the duty? – From the seclusion; the duties are not very hard; they were continually obliged to be near the barracks, but then in so very small an island they had slight inducement to rove; therefore that was of little consequence. [5]

While establishing the first settlement, convicts enjoyed an unusual freedom to move about the settlement — they could not escape from the Island. Conversely the soldiers suffered from island confinement feeling as if there was nowhere to go. This is the paradox — freedom or confinement.

Foundation Day on Norfolk Island commemorates the 6 of March 1788, the date on which a founding party arrived on the Island. The founding party was large enough to establish possession by the British. Phillip Gidley King (the first Superintendent and Commandant of Norfolk Island), seven free persons, nine male and six female convicts established themselves on Norfolk Island surrounded by the Pacific Ocean. They were nearly a thousand miles and many days of sailing from Port Jackson, itself situated in relatively unknown territory, and months of sailing from 'home'.

Part of Captain Arthur Philip's instructions from King George III were described as follows:

> Norfolk Island ... being represented as a spot which may hereafter become useful, you are, as soon as circumstances will admit of it, to send a small establishment thither to secure the same to us, and prevent it being occupied by the subjects of any other European power.[6]

It is interesting to note that La Perouse didn't find the place useful at all. The French held no interest in occupying the Island. La Perouse recorded in his log that Norfolk Island was 'only a place fit for angels and eagles to reside in'. Did he mean that he had found a beautiful and peaceful place but of no use to the French? Or maybe he was implying that this uninhabited place represented the experience of freedom for him, as only 'angels' and 'eagles' (themselves symbols of freedom) were fit to live there.

Chance led to the third settlement on Norfolk Island, this time Pitcairn Islanders needing to escape from their poorly resourced and isolated island. Pitcairn Island had been through a series of droughts and could no longer sustain the existing population. At the same time as the Pitcairn Islanders were asking Britain for a new home, Van Diemen's Land was wanting to return Norfolk Island to New South Wales. Norfolk Island was therefore brought to the attention of the home government. Pitcairners would 'escape' to Norfolk Island.

But many free British subjects chose to voyage to and live in the new colonies. They may have imagined, and hoped for, an escape to a 'utopian' place. They could also have been driven by ambition and the hope of adventure, having also heard of new opportunities overseas. It

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[5] From *Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on Transportation*, p. 139
[6] Hoare, 1969, p. 3

took a long time to prepare for these voyages, which meant a great deal of time was spent anticipating the journey. The unfortunate convicts were forced into the unknown while others chose to take risks. Some experienced a sense of new hope and freedom. Marshall Sahlins uses the metaphor of the dome of the sky to express the optimism often felt when about to travel:

> For at the horizon, the dome of the sky meets the border of the earth, and to voyage beyond is to break into the heavens. [7]

No matter how positively they began, all travellers had to endure isolation on the journey, as well as enduring life on board their ships. Feelings of isolation and despondency were often experienced at their destinations as well. Thoughts of escape and new beginnings were not always completely satisfied.

Most of the convicts found themselves transported and exiled to Australia because of theft, reflecting the high value that western culture places on property. On Norfolk Island property and supplies were scarce, so it would have been no surprise when martial law was enforced in 1790 after the *Sirius* was wrecked on the reef just offshore. Convicts and their overseers alike found self-control difficult, so martial law had to be endured, the power to be placed in the hands of the 'trustworthy'.

By 1791 two jails were eventually built and in 1794 a criminal court was established by an Act of the British Parliament. The court had the power to sentence criminals to flogging or capital punishment. In an appendix from Major General Bourke to Mr Secretary Stanley, Government House, Sydney, 1834, Major General Bourke reports that:

> I would say that the condition of the convict in Norfolk Island is considered to be one of very great severity. [8]

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[7] Marshall Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1981, p. 16

It seems that constant harassment, torture and deprivation leave little room for psychological security and reform. Martin Cash, a convict on Norfolk Island, who wrote about his experiences there, comments on the state of mind of the prisoners who were planning mutiny, noting that they were:

> utterly regardless of their lives owing to the tyrannical treatment they were daily and hourly subjected to. [9]

Martin Cash also wrote about Jacky Jacky, another prisoner, who was

> flogged, goaded, and tantalised till he was reduced to a lunatic and a savage. [10]

Finally he comments

> ...I had the satisfaction of bidding adieu to the 'Island of Despair' and returning to VDL. [11]

Certainly Martin Cash and other convicts suffered melancholy in their longing for better times somewhere over the oceans, somewhere away from Norfolk Island. Others who were free but trapped may have gazed towards the horizon with longing, imagining adventure and escape. From another position of isolation, on an island, the need can arise to be part of a larger civilisation and the opportunities that such a society provides.

It is at the edge or on the periphery where ideas and experiences are both blurred and made intense. It is here that utopia and dystopia exist together, manifested physically and psychologically. At the edge the tyranny of ocean space confuses the boundaries of exile or escape. The distant island is also a place onto which desires and fears can be

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[8] From the *Report from the Select Committee on Transportation Together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, Ordered by The House of Commons*, printed 14 July 1837, Tasmaniana Library, Hobart, p. 79

[9] *Martin Cash: The Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1834-4*, J. Walsh & Sons, 1st impr. 1870, 10th impr. 1975, p. 164

[10] *Martin Cash: The Bushranger of Van Diemen's Land in 1834-4*, p. 151

projected. In the period of transportation the British certainly put distance between the motherland and the penal settlements. No better place exemplifies this than Norfolk Island during the second settlement: Governor Darling stated that the convicts would suffer the most extreme punishment, 'short of death', and Sir Thomas Brisbane's orders clearly stated that 'the felon who is sent there, is forever excluded from all hope of return'.[12]

Some Australian artists have expressed their desire to escape to isolated places: for example, the desert or the tropics. Tasmanian artists today continue to escape to wilderness areas to test their self-endurance, alone with the opportunity to express their reactions to both the isolation and Nature. For some it is possible, when alone and absorbed with Nature, to experience the feeling and knowledge of the core of existence and their own essence of being. In this sense, isolation takes on the meaning of allowing for personal growth, relaxation and regeneration.

The environment around the periphery, at the beach, is where I go to 'escape' and seek my preferred isolation and calm. From this spot I can absorb fresh inspiration while facing the horizon and focusing on what seems like infinity. At these times ideas of exploration and discovery can develop in the imagination. While looking towards the low horizon the sky and the sea often seem as one. The place and the moment require few visual distractions to achieve a sense of self. In the catalogue to Bea Maddock's exhibition *Terra Spiritus ...with a darker shade of pale*, Greg Dening invites a response to Maddock's work, entitling his essay — 'Mirror-Thoughts for a Circumlittoralist':

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[11] *Martin Cash* p. 173

[12] Raymond Nobbs, (ed.), *Norfolk Island 1825–1855*, Library of Australian History, 1991, p. 16

> **Whispers from the Beach**: Voices from the beach are hard to hear. The wind snatches them from lips. They are lost in the white noise of the waves. Vast spaces are high-country, Grand Canyon, grave silent. But a circumlittoralist hears with her eyes, listens in her colours. Lines whisper. Shapes moan. [13]

Mary Eagle describes Maddock's images as '... merely that line moving onward, sheet by sheet, to magically return to itself'.[14] This can be the experience from the periphery, or from the top of a mountain on a small island where the whole periphery is in sight, the edge 'magically returning to itself'. After a showing of a video of herself at work on *Terra Spiritus*, Maddock explained that from the periphery she feels as if she is standing on the inside looking out. She remarks that explorers were on the outside looking in. I suggest that imaginary journeys require you to look out in order to look in. Looking out is active; the mind is sharp and astute while the eye searches for significant forms and consequently the right moment of departure. Is this escape?

The French artist Paul Gauguin resisted the pressures from society and consequent responsibility, and romanticised about escape and having the freedom to work on his art while living with the 'natives'. On Tahiti he reduced his life to the simplest existence.

Australian artists have also written and spoken about their desire to escape. In the introduction to the catalogue *Escape Artists*, Gavin Wilson discusses the universal need to escape in order to be free. He suggests that artists especially need to experience and express their independence and originality.

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[13] Greg Dening, *Terra Spiritus:* A Response, Mirror-Thoughts for a Circumlittoralist, catalogue essay for *Bea Maddock: Terra Spiritus ... with a Darker Shade of Pale*, 1998–99, p. 8

[14] Mary Eagle, Terra Spiritus: A Response, Tromemanner: 'my own country' catalogue essay for *Bea Maddock, Terra Spiritus...with a Darker Shade of Pale*, 1998–99, p. 9

For many, the horizon has been a focus, whether on the edge, near the coast or from the centre in the desert. Tim Storrier and John Olson both comment about and search for something elusive and use the horizon as a metaphor for the edge, endlessness and infinity. Lloyd Rees said in an interview with Janet Hawley that he is 'constantly thinking of the miracle of endlessness'[15], and mentions his fear of infinity and consequently death. Fear is definitely connected to the unknown, but I think fear can also stimulate curiosity and be a positive motivator.

Isolation seems to be necessary for many artists such as John Wolseley, who likes periods alone in the outback of Australia. Others have travelled to small islands where they find equilibrium and calm. English artist, Richard Long, travels and maps isolated areas around the world. He re-assembles elements from and within the landscape recording his work on film.

Susan Best writes in a catalogue essay for *Littoral*, an exhibition by Robyn Backen at Artspace in 1997 that:

> ... the littoral zone sits between (and accommodates) the high tide of new visions, firing imaginative powers, optimism, and hope, and the low tide of pessimism, lament, stasis, and slow decay. [16]

I read the movements of the tides as a reminder to keep imagining the possible and even the impossible. The tides can be seen to mimic the natural flows of life, the tide line representing the space between reality and the imagination. The edge enforces a discipline, a demarcation of space, a place to stand. This is a given, safe and a neutral position from where to depart:

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[15] Janet Hawley, *Encounters with Australian Artists*, University of Queensland Press, 1993, p. 149

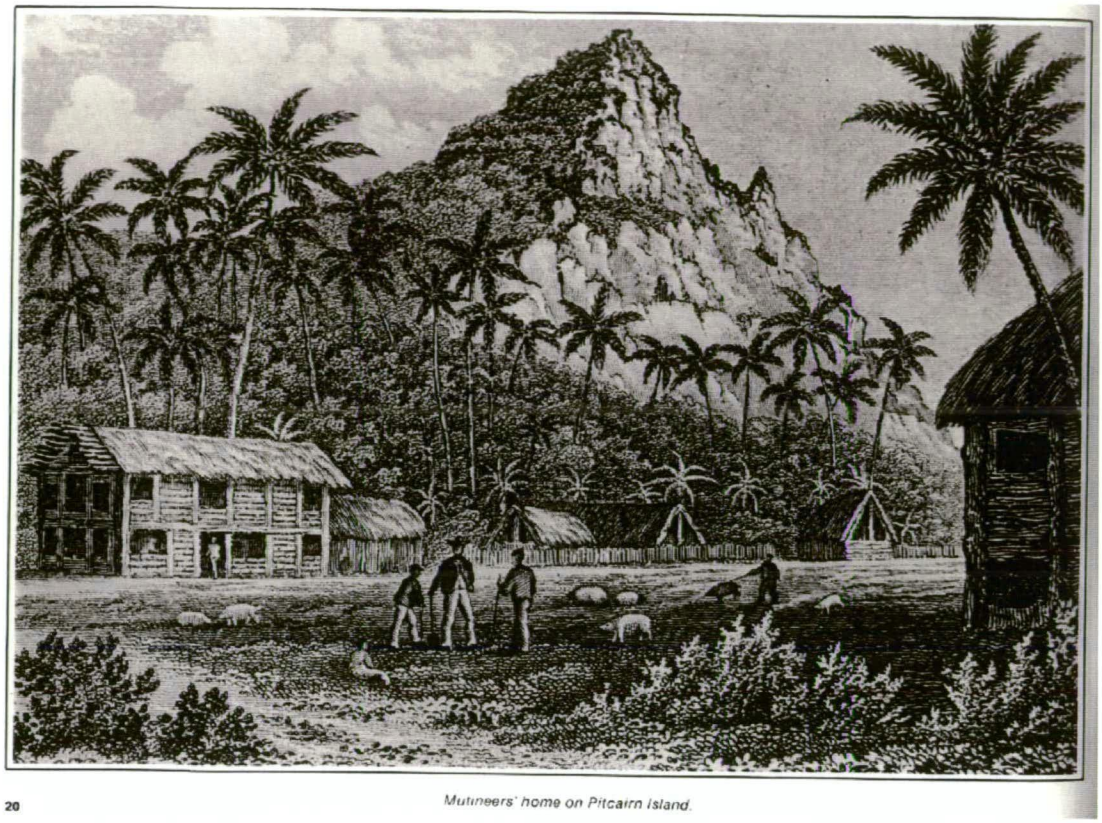
[16] Susan Best, Bathing in the Element catalogue essay for *Robyn Backen: Littoral*, Artspace, Sydney, 1997, internet copy, p. 1

> The shoreline presents us with a model for being in the world, a fluid and inclusive comportment towards events.[17]

Standing facing out towards the horizon is facing the future while the past symbolically resides in its rightful place behind.

But on Norfolk Island there are many ghosts from the past — not only the ghosts of penal horror but also the ghosts of Fletcher Christian and his mutineering crew on the *Bounty*. A small community grew out of an exile on Pitcairn Island and through chance and fate they were eventually resettled on Norfolk Island.

[17] Best, p. 2



20 Mutineers' home on Pitcairn Island.

Figure 15 Artist unknown
Mutineers' Home on Pitcairn Island.
Engraving, n.d.

Chapter 4

Fletcher Christian's Ghost

> Island making sublimates a sense of alienation. Pitcairn holds those stories in its being, together with the paradox that it was both paradise and hell [1]

This chapter briefly addresses the experiences, beliefs and attitudes of the men who mutineered on the *Bounty*, 28 April 1789. Following, also, is an outline of the events that led up to the re-location of Pitcairn Islanders to Norfolk Island in 1856. The ghosts of Fletcher Christian's mutiny are still present on Norfolk Island today.

Fletcher Christian experienced hardship on board the *Bounty*. He was included in a voyage that proved to be cramped and arduous. During the many months of the journey he also suffered from the effects of Bligh's wrath and discontent, which some say, led to the mutiny. If beaches are described as marginal places[2] so are the decks of tall ships. The social and working hierarchy that existed on board the ship was transferred with the men to Pitcairn Island. Fletcher Christian must have discovered a great deal about himself.

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[1] Greg Dening, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1992, p. 308

[2] 'I think history is more likely to be born on beaches, marginal spaces in between land and sea', Dening, p. 177. 'The beach itself is a much more marginal space where neither otherness or familiarity holds sway where there is much invention and blending of old and new', p. 179

Christian's inevitable exile and consequent alienation from his homeland, including every other familiar territory, was probably temporarily forgotten when he found his uninhabited island that looked like 'paradise'. However, he and his companions must have had second thoughts about their ability to survive and the possible danger of being discovered. Fletcher Christian's actions were to influence the passage of Norfolk Island's history for years to come. His behaviour was both abhorred and romanticised as attitudes changed and his descendants needed to find their own sense of identity.

Mutiny for 'freedom' came with a price. The very qualities that led to the mutiny were carried with the men to their place of exile. These same men and their cultural attitudes jeopardised a recently acquired 'freedom' and indeed their own safety, by their behaviour on Pitcairn Island. Having always been in service themselves these men didn't waste any opportunity to dominate and control their Tahitian companions, and they did so with a vengeance. Greed and selfishness led to another kind of mutiny on Pitcairn Island, as their own sense of cultural hierarchy meant that the mutineers saw their Tahitian companions as slaves. There were nine *Bounty* mutineers, six Tahitian men, only twelve Tahitian women and a baby girl, to live on Pitcairn Island. Land and wives were not equally divided:

> At an early stage, Pitcairn Island was divided equally between Fletcher Christian and his eight white companions: the six men from Tahiti, Tabuai, and Raiatea, some of them chiefs, were given no land. By one decision they became servants and labourers forever. It would be unfair to lay the blame for this unfortunate decision only on Fletcher Christian. Now the party was on land his authority was diminished and the group, mainly common seamen, expected a say in things. An entirely new social order was emerging, and dealing with it was probably difficult for an officer and a gentleman who had always known

> where he was with these men; but they saw new horizons. As simple seamen they had never had much to lose. As the landed gentry of a new Pacific kingdom, they had everything to gain by questioning the authority and position of others, including friends. [3]

It was easy for Robinson Crusoe to imagine himself 'king' of his island while all alone, but not so easy for the men on Pitcairn to negotiate their hierarchy. Each one of them felt he was 'king'. In the early years the men soon became suspicious, distrustful and fearful of each other. All the Tahitian men, and seven of the mutineers, were killed. Only one woman was involved in any killing. Edward Young died of asthma within a couple of years. John Adams was the only European to survive.

John Adams became an alcoholic but, as the story goes, he was visited by the Archangel Michael, after which he turned to religion. He used the prayer book and bible taken from the *Bounty* as his tools, redemption his purpose and relief. His new tools gave him power; as Greg Dening puts it in *Mr Bligh's Bad Language*, 'discipline not laws made paradise'. After Adam's conversion the community lived peacefully enough. Glynn Christian, a descendant of Fletcher Christian, has researched his ancestors and written a book, *Fragile Paradise*. He questions, however, whether 'Adams was not a benevolent old patriarch but a hypocritical manipulator of Polynesian women and young children.' [4]

Little is said of the Tahitian women, who came on board the *Bounty* with the English men, and their search for freedom. They had been slaves of tradition to the men on Tahiti. No full blood Tahitian babies were born on Pitcairn Island. The mutineers and the Polynesian women, it seems, both hated 'black' men (as they called them). If there is little said of the

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[3] Christian, Fragile Paradise, Doubleday, London/New York, 1999, p. 245

founding women even less is said of the six Tahitian men who travelled on the *Bounty*.

On Pitcairn Island today there is a bronze plaque proudly displaying the names of the English mutineers who made Pitcairn their home of exile.[5] These names are Fletcher Christian, Acting Lieutenant; Edward Young, Midshipman; John Mills, Gunners Mate; William Brown, Assistant Botanist; William McCoy, Matthew Quintal, Alexander Smith (John Adams), John Williams, Isaac Martin, Seamen.

In 1808 an American whaling ship came across Pitcairn Island by chance. The captain, Mayhew Folger, knew at once that he had solved the mystery of the fate of the *Bounty*. Following his visit, Folger sent news back to England but the little community was left in peace for another six years. Then in 1814 two naval frigates chanced upon Pitcairn. There was a steady flow of visitors from then on, as everyone was eager to hear and see for themselves how this controversial community had survived.

In 1823 two Englishmen joined the community and stayed, John Buffet and John Evans. In 1828 George Hunn Nobbs, an Irishman, arrived and also stayed. These names joined the long line of descendants now living on Norfolk Island.

In 1965 Glynn Christian made a trip to Pitcairn in search of his forebears and to experience Pitcairn Island for himself. He writes:

> When we first walked across the island and up to the ridge that ripples the length of Pitcairn, an unexpected feeling of vulnerability developed. Although there are countless hollows, glades and other secretive places, the very erectness and isolation of the island easily gives the sense of it offering no place to hide. [6]

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[4] Christian, p. 337

[5] It does not include the names of the women and men who also made Pitcairn their home of exile.

[6] Christian, p. 381

Glynn Christian suggests that few residents today know which Tahitian woman they are descended from; however, they all know from which European. Does this mean that a perceived hierarchy of race still exists? Glynn Christian writes that even in his grandparents' generation there was a reluctance to talk about their Tahitian blood. He suggests that Christianity had something to do with this. When I visited Norfolk Island in June 1999, I heard about the pride in Pitcairn heritage but failed to discover how the residents felt about their Polynesian ancestors. Tourists, on the whole, are interested in the white mutineers, the rebels who dared to defy authority and take their freedom, and who survived on an uninhabited island.

In 1856 the Pitcairners were finally resettled on Norfolk Island, as their depleted island could no longer sustain them (a few families did return to Pitcairn). Left alone, the women on Pitcairn Island had had the skills to survive:

> The women reared the children and made the rhythm of everyday. [7]

Today there is still pride in these inherited skills, such as the weaving of flax hats, traditional cooking and the preservation of their own language. Most importantly there is a community spirit of mutual support.

It is the language that significantly links Norfolk Islanders to their Polynesian past. Without the coming together of two cultures it would not have developed. It symbolises the interaction of black and white. While English is predominantly spoken today, Pitcairn/Norfolk is still in use. Their own language has become a metaphor for the importance of

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[7] Dening, p. 333

maintaining a unique cultural identity and the continuing determination for independence.

Bounty Day is a major festival held on Norfolk Island in June each year. By dressing up and re-enacting the past, families imagine and commemorate the exotic history of their extraordinary past. They proudly keep alive the hierarchies and the ghosts of their *Bounty* heritage.

Selena Buffett—the last of the Pitcairners to die on Norfolk—March 1st. 1943. Aged 87 years. "Aunt" Selena was much loved by all on Norfolk Island.

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Figure 16 Artist unknown
Selena Buffet
Photograph, 1943

Figure 17 Marie-Louise Anderson
Cemetery facing east towards the ocean on Norfolk Island
Photograph, June, 1999

Chapter 5

Studio Journal

> I'm constantly thinking of the miracle of endlessness, and I look upon every bit of nature as a symbol of eternity, and that's the result of the world of the spirit perhaps. [1]

This chapter follows the progress of my research through the visual journal. Two elements that influenced me early on were the Norfolk Island pine and the many ships that have anchored offshore, for both their aesthetic and historical significance.

Drawing on my photographs of the people, the ocean, the pines, archaeological artefacts, buildings and sites. I began to develop an empathy with Norfolk Island, its people and history. I saw the Island as being on the periphery of Australia, New Zealand and Polynesia, as isolated in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and with an extraordinary history of settlement.

I believe that nature played an important part in Norfolk Island's history. I noticed the repetition of lines in nature and in aspects of the colonial settlement – the pines, walls and fences, boats and roof tops. The rocks have been worn by the sea over time into patterns of lines. Simple leaf

[1] Lloyd Rees, cited in Janet Hawley, *Encounters with Australian Artists*, University of Queensland Press, 1993, p. 23

and boat forms developed encompassing linear patterns. Boats can provide the link to solitude or civilisation, symbolising the search for freedom. I made seed pods with the idea that seeds drift on the currents of the oceans. Like the migrant, the seeds eventually find a resting place where they lodge and begin to change and grow. I was attracted also to the tombstones on the Island that face the east and out to sea. I took rubbings and made figurative drawings.

There have been many visitors and settlements on the Island so I began to seek out the kinds of artefacts that had been left behind. I found Polynesian artefacts in the museum. Of interest were the visual references to ships and boats — for example, knotted rope, rigging, sails, bells and anchors, as well as utilitarian objects that were brought from England during the first and second settlements, cutlery, crockery, tools and equipment. The Pitcairners brought their own skills and characteristics to the Island — for example, the weaving of flax hats, fishing, farming, their own language and 'Bounty culture'.

Colonial 'home making' has been reconstructed in the rooms of the restored houses on Quality Row, at Kingston. In the kitchen items are placed on simple shelves and hung from hooks. Back in my studio I painted the weatherboards blue, the skirting boards a darker blue and hung objects from the 'shelf', referring to the colonial domestic space.

Part of my practice has acknowledged the vessel form as both functional container and as symbol of colonisation and ownership. My forms were made to appear ambiguous, suggesting change, the passing of time and accumulation of new meanings. They are the symbols of 'making place'. The forms suggest artefacts hinting at the plaiting of flax, ships,

containers, tools, twine and fruit. They are unglazed and 'weathered', representing 'found' objects or 'relics'.

Francis Bacon wrote:

> Art is a method of opening up areas of feeling rather than merely an illustration of an object. The object is necessary to provide the problem, and the discipline in the search for the problem's solution.
>
> Real imagination is technical imagination. It is in the ways you think up to bring an event to life again. It is in the search for the technique to trap the object at a given moment. Then the technique and the object become inseparable. The object is the technique and the technique is the object. Art lies in the continual struggle to come near to the sensory side of objects. [2]

I have focused on the image of the horizon as a metaphor for freedom, freedom to seek beyond the known, to travel out into the unknown. Imaginary journeys anticipate change and sometimes courage is needed to look within ourselves and then to look beyond. Journeys are often made because of the desire for adventure, to seek stimulation and develop personally. Paradoxically, the desire to belong to our past and the need to come home is still often felt.

I thought more about the power of nature, specifically the ocean that both protects and isolates. I needed to capture the fragility and uncertainty at both the physical and metaphorical edge.

I tried several ideas using circles and traced the outline of the island. The structure of the pentagonal prison and a cut profile of the trunk of the Norfolk pine have similarities. Parallels can also be made from the image

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[2] Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics*, University of California Press, California, 1968, p. 620

of lines mapping the numerous journeys between Norfolk Island, England, Port Jackson and Van Diemen's Land.

I admire the simplicity of the work of Rosalie Gasgoine, especially her representations of nature in found materials. Within my own work I sensed the need for visual repetition in order to emphasise the continuous flow of nature and time while creating order out of chaos. With repetition it is possible to achieve a psychological calm because of the ease of perception:

> 'when the expected happens in our field of vision we cease to attend and the arrangement sinks below the thresh hold of our awareness'. [3]

I visited a landscaped area on the Derwent River and observed the composition and placement of different sized and different coloured stones. The ordered segments had been created with pattern and texture. The colour of the sky, the sea and the buildings all became part of the visual construction. This site influenced me in the sense that I noticed the authority of simplicity.

I began to collect different gravels and sands and researched the theory behind Japanese gardens. Japanese gardens reflect on the principle of impermanence. The rocks used are allowed to 'speak' for themselves rather than being 'designed' into places beforehand. Japanese artists play with the relativity of size and scale in landscape design. They create worlds within worlds. Their work is not timeless as in western landscape painting but is concerned with the moment, the ephemeral.

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[3] E.H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1979, p. 9

I studied the work of contemporary installation artists Richard Long and Chris Drury, who have successfully created ephemeral works within the landscape. Richard Long claims that artists are map makers of consciousness, recording invisible and visible paths. Places give him the energy for ideas, and walking feeds his imagination and helps him to make decisions. Chris Drury, too, reflects upon the insights that occur when encountering nature. He believes that there is no division between man, art and nature. For him the mountains take him beyond himself and the horizon. My construction also involves the landscape and the notions of awareness, movement and impermanence.

My installation, which has been inspired by Norfolk Island's history and isolation, is created out of context and away from the ocean. It is exhibited in a gallery with a glass wall dividing and linking the inside with the outside. The gallery is situated on an isolated site — at the end of a point where the land is flat and the landscape is viewed on a 360° angle. From this place it is possible to understand the reality of isolation. I found that the objects I had made were no longer relevant as they detracted from the psychological intensity of the piece.

I have used perspective as a means of controlling the space and directing the viewer beyond the room. The point of the perspective is the focus, or resting place. The glass wall of the gallery acts as a screen or as a barrier symbolising past history and present restrictions. Standing alone and looking out, the viewer is unseen and in control of his or her own experience. Psychological calm and contemplation are possible within the room, while reality is viewed outside the glass. Standing alone and looking towards the vanishing point, viewers are given the opportunity to

look within themselves. The ghosts of the past inform the present. A space has been created from where it is possible to imagine and to change.

Conclusion

In this exegesis I have presented the history of Norfolk Island as a narrative of profound physical, social and psychological isolation.

Norfolk Islanders with Pitcairn heritage claim that Queen Victoria gave them the Island, but Australia continues to govern them. I believe that their continuous struggle for an independent identity has been significant in shaping the social and cultural fabric of the Island. Some also want to be known as indigenous to Norfolk Island, feeling justified in their claim by the discovery of substantial and long-term Polynesian campsites at Emily Bay. The Tahitian and European forebears, were each separated from two homelands, so modern-day Norfolk Islanders continue to work towards ensuring that the Island will be one day governed by them.

In spite of a colonial penal history and Australian government control, evidence of Polynesian heritage survives in the community on Norfolk Island. Global isolation has protected Norfolk Islanders from overwhelming outside influences. The longer the community remains isolated and controls who may live on the Island, the longer each generation continues to be linked. The consistent use of the Pitcairn/Norfolk language exemplifies this. Norfolk Islanders are still trying to establish a new order within their colonised centre.

History has revealed that the tyranny of distance in colonial days brought about a lack of immediate accountability which meant a desperate life for

the convicts. On the other hand, modern-day Norfolk Islanders feel the effects of isolation in different ways. Ironically, tourists today have boosted the economy but threaten to change the cultural and social structures of the Island, therefore destroying its uniqueness.

I determined that throughout the discovery and settlement in the Pacific region the landscape and the ocean have been central to its development. I also suggest that from the summit of Mount Pitt many have understood the confining, yet paradoxically secure, nature of the 'edge', the expanse of ocean distance and the profound realisation of personal isolation.

I conclude that over the centuries Norfolk Islanders have looked towards the horizon as a way of reflecting on the past and making plans for the future. Beaches have represented, and still do, the boundary between utopia and dystopia. They symbolise 'discovery' and are places where adventurers and explorers have arrived and departed. Travellers are often motivated by the desire to 'escape', to redeem and to re-invent themselves, as much as for the thrill of adventure.

Importantly, isolation has also meant that simplicity and freedom are still possible on Norfolk Island.

I have argued that colonial artists' interpretations of the settlements on Norfolk Island were idealised and sanitised because of the need to satisfy expectations in the home country and because of the alien nature of what they saw. I also discussed the tendency of many contemporary artists to search for isolated places where they can reflect and be free to create.

This project then, demonstrates that gazing towards the horizon from an isolated island periphery is a way of looking inwards to the self and consequently towards the future.

Appendix I

Journal

Marie-Louise Anderson

19 June 1999 — Launceston, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Norfolk Island
26 June 1999 — Norfolk Island, Sydney
28 June 1999 — Sydney, Launceston

Unlike Bligh who waited for months while his ship was being loaded with supplies and who waited for sailing orders and for favourable winds, I travelled through five different airports and landed breathless on my feet just nine or ten hours later. So much for modern travel and experience. I walked out of the deep freeze and into the sun from island to island.

I can remember standing 'on the edge' when I was about 15 or 16, looking out, dreaming of things that might be, imagining the future, yearning to leave the island (Tasmania) to which I was to return again and again. Birthplaces seem to hold the strongest ties. At that restless age the island symbolised other people's expectations. Somehow the horizon lured me towards a greater freedom. Fletcher Christian too had mixed feelings. He broke under the expectations of Bligh and took his freedom. I wonder if he yearned for his home – *he* couldn't return.

From the cockpit I saw Norfolk Island, a speck in the Pacific. We sped down the runway that looked so small. I saw the pines. An unusually calm day they said – no wind, and warm.

A complimentary tour took me around the island with John Adams as the guide and driver, I felt like saying that I had heard of him, but refrained. John Adams was the only white man to survive on Pitcairn. John took us through a very well-rehearsed history of the island. He described the pride in the historic sites and the continued effort to preserve them. He explained that Norfolk Islanders are very environmentally conscious and committed to

replanting the Norfolk Pines, the banning of chemical use and the efforts to hide unsightly buildings near historic Kingston. John is proud to say that his family and extended family are still living on the land allotted to the Adams family in the 1800s.

He talked about the positive American influences, the airstrip was built during the war and later the cable station linking Norfolk Island to the rest of the world. The American whalers, too, brought new blood into the community. The electricity is diesel-run and terribly expensive. He told us about the Polynesian camp sites at Emily Bay and mentioned to me Atholl Anderson from ANU who has studied these sites. There are four campsites and he claims that 2,000 Polynesians once lived there 1100 AD. He pointed out the Lone Pine at Kingston on the point, saying that a colonial artist painted it (I have to find out who).

The cemetery at Kingston faces a little beach. I feel as if this could be a spot for my installation. The grave stones face the sea as if waiting, in formation and in groups, facing outwards, slightly random. Part of the installation is already there. The Polynesian sites are in this area also. Religion shaped this community. The graveyard symbolises religious honouring of the dead, the past, convicts, redemption, saving, confession of sins, peace from the place worse than death. The priests came to 'save'. On Pitcairn John Adams 'saved' his community.

Apparently there is evidence of Easter Island carvings of Gods found on Pitcairn. Pitcairn is relatively close to Easter Island.

I went to an Anglican church service but forgot to take the camera, unfortunately. I found that I knew the Evening song and joined in with the answers. My mother had introduced me to religion and took me to the Cathedral in Hobart and I was eventually confirmed. I thought of my mother, my school and my childhood. After the service many hymns were sung, including original hymns coming from Norfolk Island itself and sung in the pidgin language.

A friend and I drove to Captain Cook's lookout, a fabulous spot overhanging three huge rocks — Moo-oo, Cathedral, Bird. According to the locals this could not have been the spot that Cook described, more likely to have been Anson Bay. Local gossip goes that Cook named Norfolk after the Duchess of Norfolk, not the Duke, as he (Cook) was having

an affair with her (the Duchess) However, S says the Duchess would have been an old lady then.

1798 – the oldest bridge in Australia– into Phillipsburg (find out more about this place). Briefly visited the old whaling station site at Cascade Bay. Saw the jetty for unloading the ships (the jetty is still in use today).

Apparently the American whalers taught the islanders the old hymns, that's why they are sung in English. Hymns were sung very slowly , at first so as to be in time with the rowing. They were sung for a safe return. They are still sung very slowly.

The weather changes constantly, showers of rain every day. The air is quite damp with humidity. It seems to come in from all sides. It has been windy on the beach at Kingston. The *Sirius* was wrecked quite close into shore on the reef. Quite a few things were raised to the surface and are now displayed in the museum — the anchor, canons, canon balls and shot, metal buckles etc.

Talking to G– he is interested in Norfolk Island history. He is in charge of the cemetery and plans to write a book about it. He explained and read some of the headstones. Freemason symbols – skull and crossbones, archangels and doves etc. Why were the convicts who led the uprisings given such elaborate headstones, while others are unmarked? G has a couple of journals in his possession and showed me the one written in 1814 by a lieutenant on board the *Minerva*. I held this incredible document. He also holds in his possession a journal written by two women during the war, he lent me the transcript. I photographed the contents of his cabinet containing colonial artefacts such as bottles, jars, clay pipes and crockery. Most islanders have these things in their possession.

There is quite a bit of resistance to outsiders, understandably, but G has been very generous with me. He said, people keep their feelings to themselves and don't worry about things — easy-going. Everyone knows everything that is going on anyway. He says I have to slow down and stop running. He's right, I've managed to collapse with a bit of flu. In bed instead of at the progressive dinner.

S showed me his photograph collection —Pitcairners during the 1920's to 1950's and old photographs of Kingston – there were noticeably more buildings intact. We had a drink together and Kay invited me to dinner.

Not feeling particularly creative with this cold; however, continuing to find out as much as I can. Standing in S's shop is perhaps the most rewarding experience. The locals come to her for lettuces, potatoes, stamps, Pitcairn basketry and to say hello in the Pitcairn language. I warmed to her straight away – her straightforward friendliness. I think I could linger in this shop all day.

I'm enjoying and appreciating being alone on this trip. I'm not interested in group tours. I enjoy the freedom of being alone to explore, to think and to talk, to take photographs.

The older people, I've been told, feel no need to leave the island. They have done their travelling and experimenting in the wider world. The young feel the need to leave and to find out what else is out there. Going away and coming home, says G, broadens their appreciation of it, ie. their heritage and lifestyle.

[The gravestones are looking out, their occupants are released/on their final journey. Maybe the sculpture faces inward, inward to self and to the centre and to home.]

S tells me that the visitors and newcomers stick to the periphery of the island and the society. P prefers the safety of the interior, away from the full force of the cyclones.

Most of the people who visit the island are elderly - maybe it's the slow pace that appeals to them, they are taken on guided tours. There are a few elderly single people too looking for company. Many come from New Zealand. Some have come from the 'outside' and have permission to stay for five years to see if they can make a go of a business. If successful they can stay permanently. There are also those with three year work permits or visas who work mainly in the service industries or are teachers and doctors. There are also outsiders living on Norfolk Island who are seen to be wealthy and avoiding paying income tax. False companies are now banned. Many local people are on the council but the administrator comes from the outside.

There is very little crime as there is nowhere to escape. However, P told me that her stamp album was stolen 'probably by a visitor', she said.

There are 30,000 tourists visiting every year and less than 2,000 locals. There is no public transport system so all families have to own one or two cars. The speed limits are 40–50 km/hr. Houses are expensive to buy. There is always the problem of availability of commodities and building materials. Ships seem to come once a week and everything has to be unloaded onto launches which are able to reach the jetty and then everything is lifted off with a winch. Tourism brings a lot of money into the community, but Australian government money is needed. Some want to be independent from Australia but S says this would be impossible. Social problems are creeping in — domestic violence and substance sniffing, all hidden behind the family. G says it would be a lonely life for many women as the men drink at the pub or are away somewhere with their mates.

Local telephone calls are free. Calls to Australia $3 per minute.

I asked about music and art. G says the Pitcairn descendants are innately musical but the young don't sing any more. They have a natural ability with four part harmonies.

Some residents have artistic talent and some carry on the craft of hat making. The Pitcairn Islanders seem to do more weaving with the flax. Pitcairners are also good wood carvers. Needlework has been an activity in the past. I visited a potter — he was from Sydney and she from Canada.

I haven't been writing this diary in chronological order, but it doesn't matter. From the plane now I am reflecting upon the week. I was lucky to be invited to a dinner held at the museum cafe, run and cooked by the museum staff. It was a special evening for the teachers. The two constables were there too and a direct descendent of a first-fleeter who now lives on the island permanently, apparently wealthy and retired. He became interested in researching his heritage and stayed. Quite fun to talk to. The teachers are all on three year contracts (and the constables), some stay for four years. They were all in their 20s and 30s except for the Principal. They are selected very carefully, people who are able to mix well in a small community. They are paid Australian wages and are not required to pay income tax. A great opportunity early on in a career. The dinner consisted of traditional (Tahitian) fish

soup - green curry, coconut. Main meal – steamed fish (perch), very crisp and fresh beans and broccoli, sliced cabbage salad and potato and onion topped with cheese. During the evening we read passages from several diaries – relating to food. But before the dinner we sat in the penal settlement courthouse to experience Norfolk's history told and played by local people. I was thoroughly entertained and enthralled by their facial expressions– it was very good. The play was well written by Peter Clarke, the author of *Hell and Paradise*, who lives on the island. Peter Davidson, who played the Clerk of Court, is a scientist on the island – the periphery and national parks in his care.

I've spent quite a lot of time at the cemetery, yesterday making rubbings. The sun was out and it was quite hot. I enjoyed being alone and listening to the sea rolling in and watching it for some time. The cemetery is very interesting and unique, as G says all generations associated with all the settlements are buried there. For example the convicts, their overseers, soldiers and marines. The whalers. The first group from Pitcairn, then those children born on Norfolk Island to Pitcairn parents, then those of parents born on Norfolk Island etc. Memories of all those who have made a place on the Island. The history is unique and the connection to Pitcairn Island still felt very powerfully. Some have travelled there and describe a place or community that is much more remote (British of course). Pitcairners come to Norfolk Island too, often on their way to and from the doctor in New Zealand. They feel the connection as well. Tahitian descendants travelled to Pitcairn too to complete the reunion.

On Norfolk the Tahitian blood is obvious. But the island is now 'Australianised', with a strong New Zealand connection.

Some still speak the Pitcairn language — a mixture of Tahitian and English. Norfolk Island has an interesting history and this unique little community is still quite isolated.

The green parrots were nearly extinct but they now have 30 pairs in captivity planned to be released into the wild. Introduced species, such as the red and blue Australian parrot, decimate the local birds. The NI owl has almost gone. One female remained and has been mated with a NZ owl which is very similar. The Providence petrel is seen again on Phillip Island. While walking up Mt. Pitt amongst the trees a little fan-tail flapped around me catching insects, almost landing to take a closer look. I am not used to the sub-tropical

vegetation and humidity so everything looks exotic to me. The pines, however, don't look terribly healthy quite often. I think they were affected when chemical sprays were in use (banned now). The only people I saw up there were a few workmen (one I saw again later making pizza). Most working people manage a couple of jobs.

From the top of Mt Pitt, it is possible to see the whole of the island and to see where the weather is coming from. Captain Cook did this — one of his men getting lost on his return and therefore being the first white man to spend a night on Norfolk Island. Cook wasn't keen to linger, he had other plans and discoveries to make. He did mention the pines, the flax, plentiful water supply and the reef. The weather was kind to him and he landed easily. I've been watching the fishing boats. They have to be winched into the water and then pick their way out through a very narrow channel. The pier is cleverly engineered so as to slow the water – it (the pier) curves to one side. Apparently the surf can be huge. It has been rough while I've been here but not big at all, so I hear. The ships are unloaded onto launches, often items such as cars and buses are straddled between two launches. (The Venetians used this trick.) Unloading takes hours and people congregate to watch. The ships come in once a week or so. Unfortunately I missed both. Apparently there is always the frustration of lack of commodities and waiting for things to arrive.

A local scientist is studying the bird life on Phillip Island and spends quite a lot of time there. Fishermen too have huts on the island and go there to 'escape' and drink — ever increasing simplicity and freedom.

Another local lady studies the botany of Norfolk Island and has a small park. S ofcourse studies the history and politics. She was brought up being included in discussion at home and her father was keen on politics. She has written several books.

G is a religious man throwing himself into community work, enjoying organising activities and trips away for the youth. He is also editor and printer of the local newspaper. His wife too does community work and plays the organ. W conducts the sing-along on Sunday nights after the church service (Anglican).

P has always worked in her shop which was left to her. She enjoys the company and feeling part of the community. Her husband died many years ago and she still misses him.

She is a no-nonsense person. Openhearted, friendly and strong — 82 now. She has all the old videos stacked along the wall, no one can play them now, except for her. She watches her favourites from time to time. Her hobby is stamp collecting, she knows everything about Norfolk Island stamps. A few Islanders have designed the stamps. P herself played a part in designing the stamp which commemorates the annexation of Norfolk Island to Van Diemen's Land.

I've talked to several tourists who are tracing their past – these days with pride, not with shame. Everything depends on perception, and perceptions change, therefore nothing is truth or fact but always changing depending on the individual. Behind an individual's perception lies a network of history and experience.

B, who works at the hotel, has come to Norfolk Island for three years. He likes the quiet, less complicated lifestyle (he is from Sydney). He also plays the piano beautifully and I suspect has other interests up his sleeve.

I was surprised to find Greenwich University on the Island. I heard that Norfolk Island is to be the centre for correspondence studies in the Pacific region. Some locals are suspicious. Anyway, I had a look at a large room where artists sometimes hold exhibitions. An Australian photographer has just held an exhibition there.

Norfolk Island is full of surprises and I was only there for six days and merely scratched the surface. A little bit deeper than the tourist.

Politics is important to the islanders. Everyone listens to the administration sittings once a month on the radio. The locals then have their say. Some want to be independent of Australia, others can't see how this could be possible. Feelings run very high on the topic and many won't talk about it, especially to strangers. This week councillors put up their salary to $37,000, to P's horror, who exclaimed that in the old days they did it for nothing. The Islanders pay these wages.

12.45 pm and coming into Sydney.

Appendix II

Professional Activity

Solo Exhibitions

1999 *Reminiscences,* exhibit for first part of Masters by Research

2000 *Schemes*, Rostella Gallery, Launceston

Group Exhibitions

1999 *Members Exhibition*, CAST, Hobart

7NT Tasart Exhibition, Burnie Regional Art Gallery

Clayfever, Chapel on Chapel Gallery, Melbourne

Divers, 9th National Ceramics Conference Delegates Exhibition, The Western Australian School of Art Design and Media Gallery, Perth

Tone and Texture, NISART Gallery, Launceston

The Jack-in-the-Box Show, Gallery B, University of Tasmania, Launceston

Glance, Honours Exhibition, Gallery A, University of Tasmania, Launceston

2000 *Tools of the Trade*, Gallery B, University of Tasmania, Launceston

Members Exhibition, CAST, Hobart

2001 *Art, Natural Environment and History*, Entrepot, University of Tasmania, Hobart

Other Activities

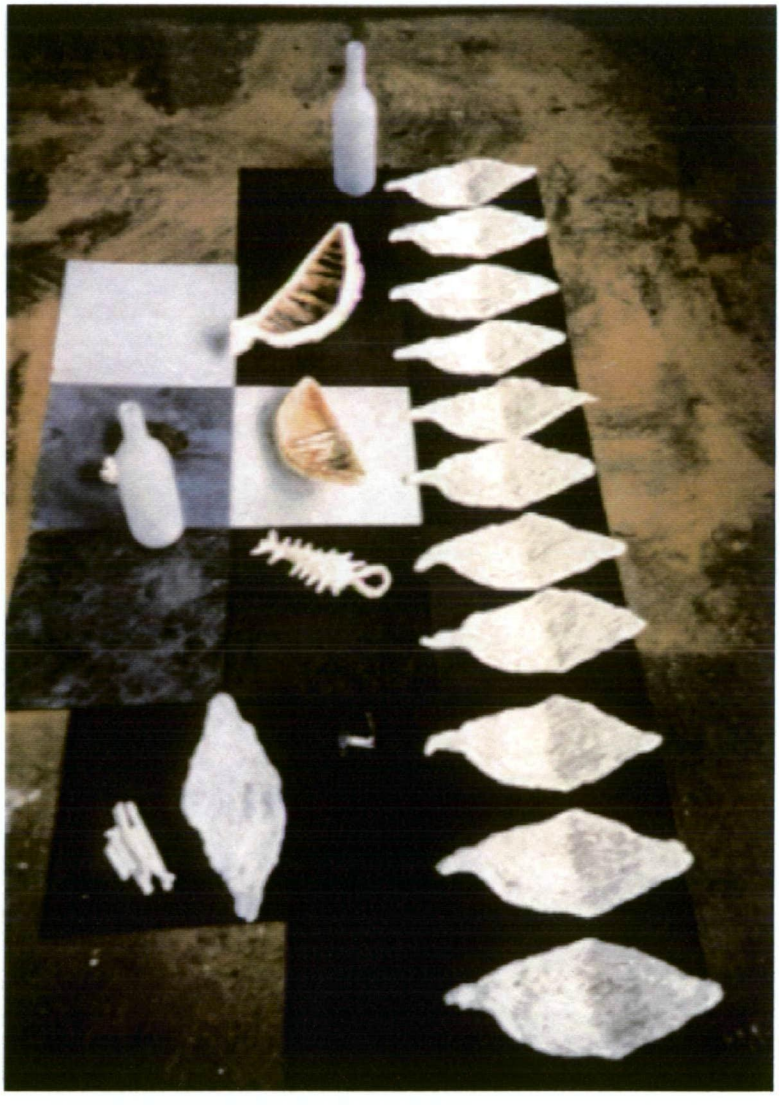
1999 Delivered a paper, *Schemes,* as part of an Education Forum at the Ceramics Conference, 'Identity and Change', Perth

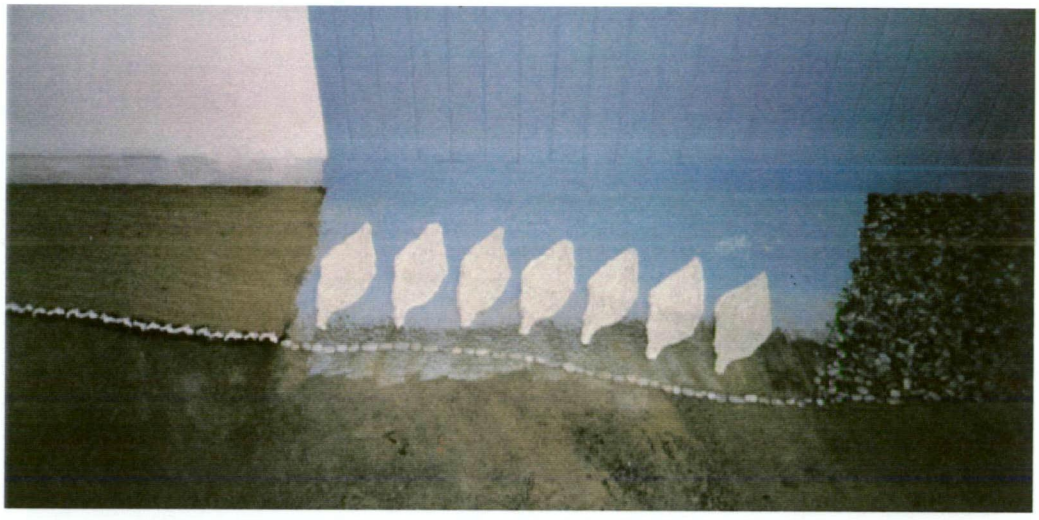
2000 Research seminar at the University of Tasmania, Launceston

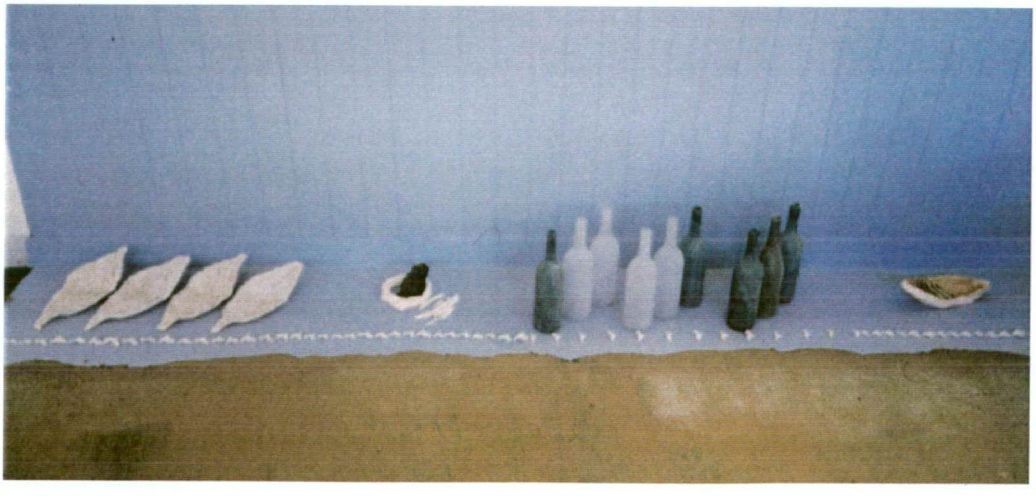
2000 Delivered a paper, *Norfolk Island as Metaphor for Isolation*, Art School Forum, University of Tasmania, Launceston

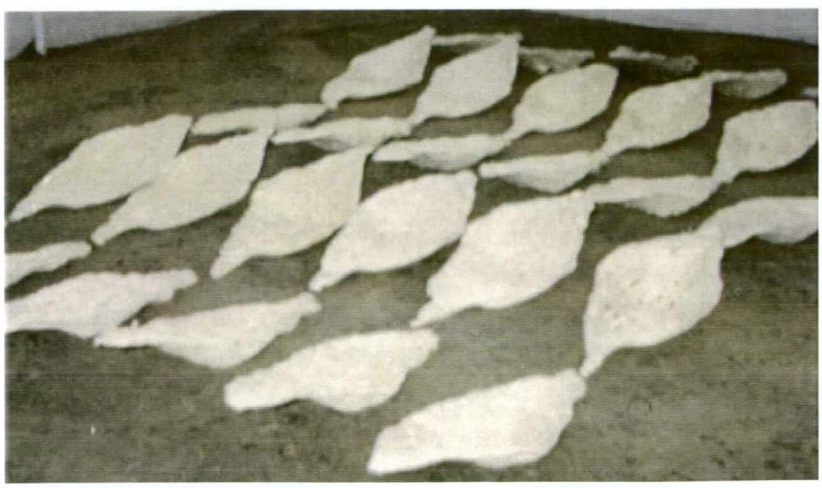
Appendix III

Developmental Work

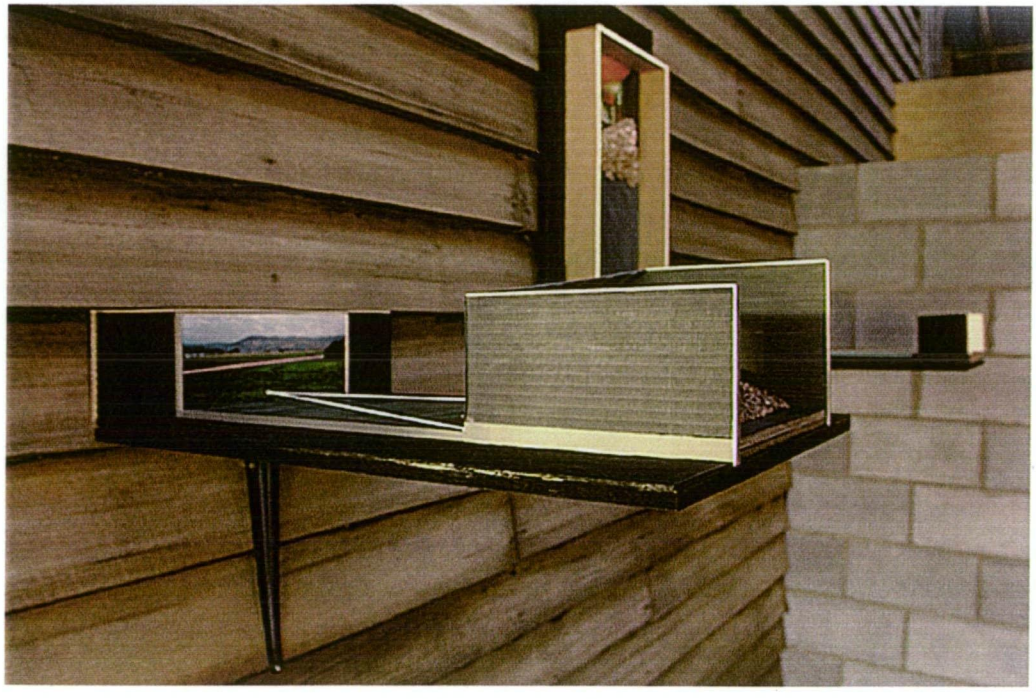


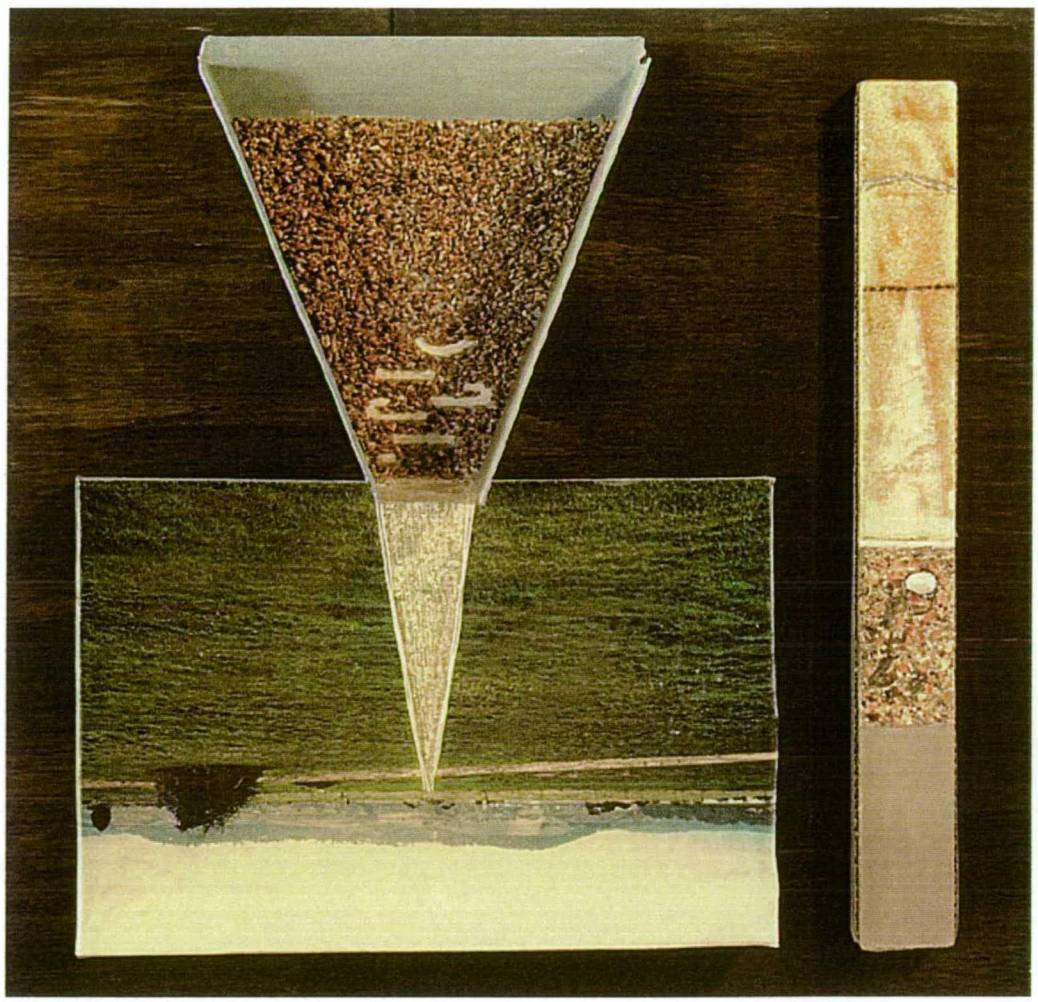


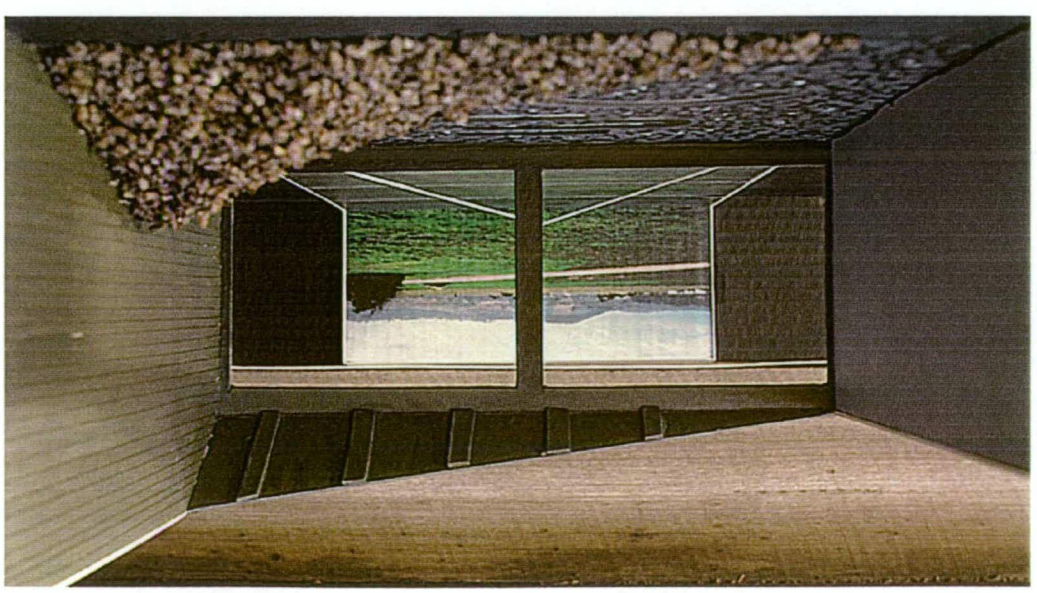




Models

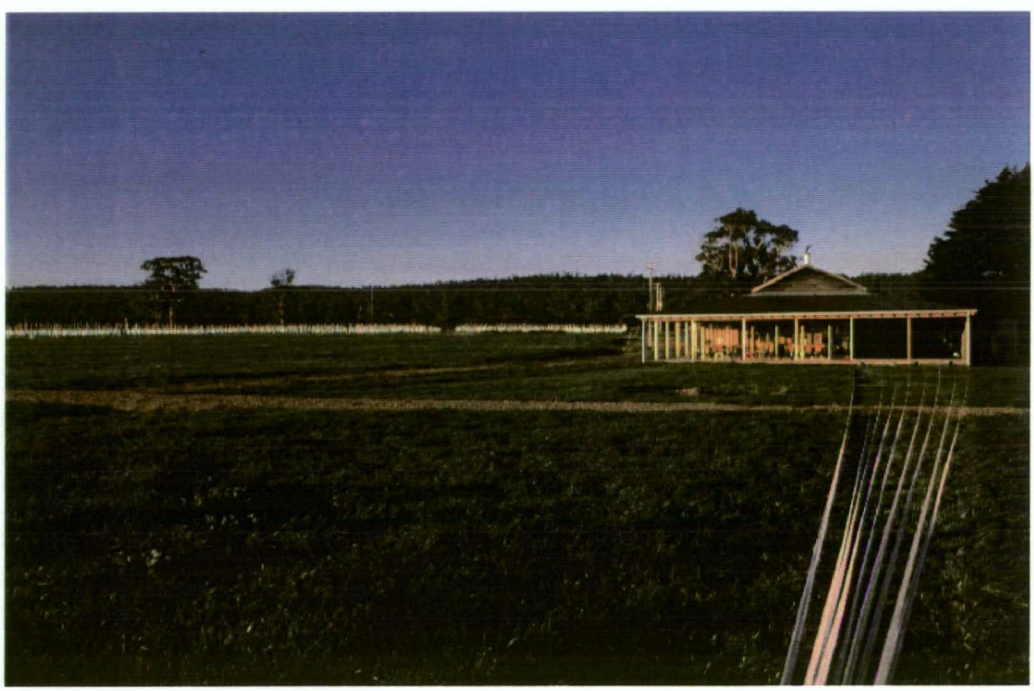






Under Construction

Final Installation



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Plan Drawings, Documents, Manuscripts and Reports

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Architectural plan drawings of buildings or projected buildings on Norfolk Island, Item 237,

Natives of Calcutta — shipwrecked on Norfolk Island 1799, C 301/273/6587

Norfolk Islanders Newspaper, item 1920, NS 21/26/1, p. 218

Pentagonal goal plan drawings PWD 266/1887, 1888, 1889

Photographic Index

Pier plan drawings, 266/1926, 266/1927, 266/1928, 266/1929

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Tasmaniana Library, Hobart

Report from the Select Committee on Transportation together with the minutes of Evidence Appendix and Index. Ordered by The House of Commons, printed 14 July, 1837.

The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay; with an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, compiled from Authentic Papers, which have been obtained from the several Departments, London, printed for John Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1789.

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Images from the Heritage Collection — Norfolk Island
Photographic images of Norfolk Island by John Watt Beattie (1859–1930)

The Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston

Photographic images of Norfolk Island by John Watt Beattie (1859–1930)

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The George Raper Papers (manuscript) 1787–1794, MS 9433. The original painting of The Melancholy Loss of the Sirius off Norfolk Island March 19 1790, PIC/3312 LOC MS SR held at MS 9.

An Historical Journal 1787–1792 by Captain John Hunter, Commander H.M.S. Sirius.

Interviews

MD
Tasmania
Saturday, 13 March and Tuesday 23 March, 1999 (by phone)
Sunday, 9 May, 1999 11.30 am

Greg
Norfolk Island
Monday 21 June, 1999 4.30 pm

Sandra
Norfolk Island
Sunday 20 June, 1999 3.00 pm
Tuesday 22 June, 1999 10.00 am

Jan
Norfolk Island
Tuesday 22 June, 1999 2.00 pm

Patsy
Norfolk Island
Wednesday 23 June, 1999 2.00 pm

Edna
Norfolk Island
Wednesday 23 June, 1999 4.00 pm

Gordon
Norfolk Island
Wednesday 24 June, 1999 9.00 am

Marie
Norfolk Island
Wednesday 24 June, 1999 3.00 pm (walking along the pier)

All names are fictitious so as to respect confidentiality agreements